BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOUR

THE PETITE BOURGEOISIE IN VICTORIAN EDINBURGH

EWAN KNOX

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
1986

FOR

MORAG AND CHRISTOPHER

I hereby declare that this thesis: (a) has been composed by myself; and, (b), is the result of my own original work.

Signed: 20 June 1986.

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This thesis is a social and economic history of the contribution of the petite bourgeoisie to the process of class and social formation in Victorian Edinburgh. It seeks to further our understanding of the class in the economic, social and political structures of the city.

Chapter I, In Search of the Petite Bourgeoisie, looks at the lack of British historiography in this area. Taking up the question of definition the class is defined in relation to other classes and as a social relationship to the control and ownership of the means and instruments of production and distribution.

Chapter II, Nineteenth Century Edinburgh: Society and Industry, presents an overview of the society. And in paricular attempts to locate the contribution of small master production and distribution in the city's economy.

Chapter III, The Shopkeepers, examines the persistence of this group against the background of economic and social change. Exploring the intervention of large capital in distribution it questions the notion of the 'independent' shopkeeper.

Chapter IV, Shopkeepers and Organisation, Looks at the attempts of shopkeepers to organise in defence of economic interests.

Chapter V, The Survival of Small Master Production, examines the reasons for the persistence of small master production. A number of short case studies from the Edinburgh economy including building, printing, tailoring, shoemaking and baking are explored. Again the issue of 'independence' is questioned, particular attention being paid to the role of merchant capital.

Chapter VI, The Politics of the Petite Bourgeoisie: One, Parliamentary, looks at the contribution of the petite bourgeoisie in the radical movements of the pre-1850 period, and the absorption of independent petit bourgeois politics within Liberalism.

Chapter VII, The Politics of the Petite Bourgeoisie: Two Local, establishes the part played by the small masters in various institutions of local Government, from the Town Council to the Poor Law institutions. A theme which emerges is the move away from petit bourgeois radical democracy to ratepayerism.

Chapter VIII, Society: Stratification and Values, explores the structure of social relationships between classes and strata. Key areas of investigation are undertaken for the small masters including wealth holding, social mobility, social distancing through marriage and their role in voluntary organisation.

Chapter IX, Between Capital and Labour, examines the important contribution of the petite bourgeoisie in the area of class conflict, particularly with the working class. Occupying a contradictory position as employers of labour and themselves subservient to large capital the small masters found it difficult to formulate any clear class position or identity for themselves.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a great deal of debt and gratitude to the following. To the Social Science Research Council who awarded me a postgraduate grant to undertake the research. To Chris Smout and Bob Morris of the Department of Economic History, University of Edinburgh, who recommended me for the award. Bob Morris and Dave McCrone supervised the thesis, providing much valued critical criticism. Their encouragement and patience has sustained an often troubled mind. Geoffrey Crossick, Frank Bechhofer and Brian Elliott have through their work and comments, provided many insights into the study of the petite bourgeiosie. I have learned much from their contributions. The staff of a number of libraries and institutions are owed a special debt of thanks for their kindness, the Edinburgh Public Library, the National Library of Scotland, the Glasgow Mitchell Library, the University of Edinburgh Library, the British Library Newspaper Section, the British Library of Political and Economic Science, the Scottish Record Office and Register House. The Scottish Grocers' Federation allowed me to consult a number of records and my thanks go to Mr. Dewar and his staff. Also the staff of the Scottish Licensed Trade Association made my stay in their offices a pleasant one. Mr. James Allan of the firm of Allan and Sons was equally helpfull and hospitable. Bill Knox showed the way and Andy MacDonald provided companionship. Bert MacDougal helped with the labourious task of checking names in the Post Office Directories. My typist Wendy Carlton was unselfish in her time devoted to transforming the hand written scrawl placed before her. My wife Morag Knox has acted as unofficial proof reader and gave up many evenings in helping to prepare information for computer data processing. Both she and my son Christopher, born halfway through my research, have made many sacrifices, which I can never hope to repay. It is to them especially that I say thankyou.

TABLES

FIGURES

ABBREVIATIONS

C&D.	Chemist and Druggist
Com.Rec.	Comercial Record
EPL	Edinburgh Public Library
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
GRO.	Grocer
IRO.	Ironmonger
M.E.T.C.	Minutes of the Edinburgh Town Council
NLS	National Library of Scotland
P.A.T.A.	Proprietary Articles Trade Association
R.M.E.T.C.	Reports of Minutes of the Edinburgh Town Council
Sco.Tra.	Scottish Trader
SRO	Scottish Record Office
S.W.S.B.T.D.A.	Scottish Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Defence Association
T.D.A.S.	Traders' Defence Association of Scotland.
W&D.	Warehousemen and Drapers' Trade Journal

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: IN SEARCH OF THE PETITE BOURGEOISIE

Over the past two decades historians and sociologists have increasingly focussed attention on marginal groups and strata, and the contribution of these to the process of class and social group formation.[1] It is within this context that scholars have turned their attention to the petite bourgeoisie in Britain. Yet while the labour aristocracy can boast a now large, and influential, historiography, work on the petite bourgeoisie remains very much at the exploratory stage. Nonetheless, this work has been important in laying the foundation for debate and analysis.[2]

Indeed the lack of a British historiographical tradition was emphasised by recent authors working on the petite bourgeoisie in Britain choosing to publish in European learned journals. With only a skeletal historiography, and one drawn more from secondary source material of a disparate nature, assumptions have been made without the test of the historical evidence. Moreover, there is as yet little or no agreement as to who actually constituted the petit bourgeois class. In such circumstances, the aim

of objectivity, within the discipline of social history is hampered by this lack of an effective definition of the petite bourgeoisie. If this is allowed to go unchecked then the confusion that already exists will only multiply. Neither can the British historian of the petite bourgeoisie look to his European counterpart for guidance. For whilst the historiography may be slightly more advanced, the definitional problems remain.[3]

The task of reaching agreement between historians as to who actually constitutes the petite bourgeoisie is not an easy one. The purpose here is not to attempt to resolve the problematic in one full swoop but to offer a working definition that the complexities of class and social group formation can be built on. Indeed, this is in line with recent argument by historians, notably Neale and Gray, highlighting the importance for social history of conceptual clarity in defining class and strata.[4]

A main objection is that the concept of the petite bourgeoisie suffers at present from an undetermined approach by scholars. In particular the concept, if it can be called such, of the 'lower middle-class' which has come to have a synonymatic relationship with the petite bourgeoisie, is too vague and descriptive to be of worthwhile use to the historian of class and social formation. The leading exponent of this concept is Mayer.[5] On the basis of a behavioural approach to class Mayer sought to unite

the white-collar workforce together with small businessmen on the grounds that they were distinguishable from the working-class in engaging in work which was not 'pre-eminently manual labour, requiring steady physical exertion, and that demanded a minimum of alphabetization.'[6] He then proceeded to give a listing of the special characteristics of this class. However, this list was merely a catalogue, and did not constitute an explanation, or lead to any causal hypothesis. Neither, can it be argued, that the list was neutral for the characteristics selected conform to and intimate a definite pattern. Significantly, Mayer's characteristics were largely based on a common income level. Arguably, income cannot be used to lump together what for charity's sake might be termed the traditional petite bourgeoisie of small shopkeepers and small master producers, with a multifamous grouping of occupations that commonly come under the term white-collar employees. Mayer started from an assumed set of characteristics and worked his way back to defining a common class position based on income and lifestyle. His work has nonetheless been influential in permeating the historiography of the petite bourgeoisie.[7]

From a more analytical perspective it can be seen that to unite the traditional petite bourgeoisie of small masters with the white-collar workforce under this broad stratum obscures many more fundamental differences than similarities. Adscription and a list of characteristics are not enough to constitute a united social formation or class.

Any analysis has to take account of the fact that the small masters and the white-collar employees differed fundamentally in their relationship to the means of production and distribution. What distinguished the petite bourgeoisie was their claim to ownership of their own means of production and distribution. Whilst the position, if not always the behavioural characteristics, of the white-collar group was objectively working-class. They were possessed of no property but their ability to labour, albeit mental labour.[8]

This fundamental difference posed a host of ideologically different questions and concerns. Though a generalised view is all too evident here, the small master producers and shopkeepers faced completely different problems with the growth of capitalism.[9] Amongst the petite bourgeoisie there were many who looked to the past, they hoped to have time stand still, to prevent the dynamic of capitalist growth which posed so much of a threat to their economic interests.[10] Whilst for others capitalism beckoned forth with new opportunities. For the white-collar workforce the problem was the impact of bureaucracy and its effects on their position in the labour market.

The work of Mayer finds a partial ally in the neo-Marxist critique of Poulantzas.[11] Poulantzas' contribution has been to seek to justify the existence of 'a new petty bourgeoisie' composed of the white-collar and technician

groups within capitalism. Had he been right then some form of explanation of a historical conjuncture would be required here. However, the notion of the 'new petty bourgeoisie' is based on a determinant of class position that takes as its starting point non-manual labour and political behaviour.[12] In this respect Poulantzas can be criticised in a similar way to Mayer. Moreover, Poulantzas as a neo-Marxist has been under frequent attack for his political ideological determinant of class which runs counter to the basic principles of Marxism.[13] Whilst it is true that he is concerned to interpret the political events of the twentieth century, he fundamentally confuses the issue of class. For taken to its logical conclusion, and given the changing structure of employment towards non-industrial occupations, particularly in Britain, his emphasis on a non-manual interpretation of class must ultimately lead us to believe that the working-class is now a minority in Britain and other states which share a common employment structure. Clearly this is not so. What is of concern is that Poulantzas' ideas have influenced the emerging historiography of the petite bourgeoisie and the white-collar groups, in particular the work of Kocka.[14]

Marxists have long recognised the important distinction between the petite bourgeoisie and the proletarian white-collar workforce.[15] Others writing on the subject, notably Beckhoffer and Elliot have also sought and argued for

conceptual clarification.[16] Whilst recognising the need to establish boundaries to the stratum, they however, abdicated responsibility for doing so. Instead they favoured 'the common sense view' and equated this with 'that motley collection of occupations to which reference is made when people speak of the small businessmen.'[17] There are objections to this line of analysis.

The main objection is that this interpretation, the 'small businessmen', is itself too vague as a tool of social and historical analysis. Moreover, following Thompson,[18] Gray,[19] Cohen[20] and Wright,[21] a fundamental distinction, it is argued, ought to be made between the petit bourgeois and the small capitalist. In short, whereas all petit bourgeois were small businessmen, not all small businessmen should be seen as constituting part of the class. A more helpful definition of the petite bourgeoisie can only be gained by returning to the basis of class; to ownership of the means of production and distribution, and the relations of production.[22] The distinguishing feature of the petite bourgeoisie was their claim to ownership of means of production and distribution. In more descriptive terms the class was composed of small shopkeepers and small master producers. It comprised the genuine self-employed, those employing family labour, and those employing small amounts of labour. From the perspective argued here it is the employment of labour that sets the upper-boundary limit to the stratum, and, if this limit is set

at say ten to twenty employees, this will find common agreement.[23] Quantification of this nature is not without its problems, yet the limitation of numbers employed is important. It serves to highlight the necessity of the small master to engage in the work process, and his inability to live off the surplus value created by his or her workforce. The surplus value relationship is the dividing factor between the petit bourgeois and the small capitalist, as is his necessity to work. Shopkeepers, it is true, do not produce surplus value, but they do play a role in the process of conversion of surplus value, and do exploit their workforce.[24]

There are problems in adopting this approach; and these are recognised. However, the tightness of definition is to be preferred to a vague upwardly stretching small business stratum, with a beginning but no end. The main problem is not one of proving the existence of the class as a whole, but the lesser one of allocating historical individuals to the class, on the basis of scant historical information. Moreover, the definition is not to be treated as deriving from some vulgar economic determinist position. Its overall purpose is to differentiate the petite bourgeoisie from the small capitalist and the working-class.

One further problem that might arise is that, as Wright points out, there is no <u>a priori</u> reasoning for deciding how many employees are necessary to make a small capitalist. Account would have to be taken of technological development,

and organisation of the work process in different trades and within trades. In fairly intensive technological industries the upper limit might be ten, in less intensive twenty employees. What can be said is that at some point the labour of the small master becomes a fraction of the total surplus produced and the transition to small capitalist takes place.[25]

So far then, it is possible to conceptualise the petite bourgeoisie as being clearly distinct from the white-collar group and not part of an amorphous lower middle-class. Again the petite bourgeoisie were distinct from the working-class in their claim to ownership of small amounts of production and distribution. Yet as is shown below claims to independence was often more ideological than real.[26] There is, however, a distinction to be made, and borne in mind, between the genuine petit bourgeois, particularly the self-employed, and those working-class individuals who set up in business as a respite from unemployment, and who, when the labour market picked up returned to wage employment. Similarly, where the wife of a working-class individual ran a small shop, and the husband continued to work, this did not therefore constitute the household being petit bourgeois. The lines of such demarcation remain, however, imperceptibly blurred.

The lines of demarcation between the petite bourgeoisie and capital[27] are similarly blurred. The use of a limit

to numbers employed and this relationship with the level of surplus value extraction, is the only definition of the class position of the petite bourgeoisie that is based on relationships to the means of production and distribution. Other definitions based on income, life-style and ideology, cannot of themselves offer a definition of class. Such definitions are merely descriptive corollaries. To take one example, that of income which has been used by some scholars as a method of characterising those who are and are not members of the petite bourgeoisie,[28] such information can only be used as an indicator and cannot be regarded as a definition. It is not the size of purses that interests us in our understanding of class, but how that income was arrived at.[29] Nonetheless, these corollaries of class are important in explaining social behaviour.

In comparison with the other classes the petite bourgeoisie was marked by its instability which must have weighed against the cohesiveness and consciousness of the class. From the 'cradle to the grave' cannot be applied to those who were to become petit bourgeois. It seems clear from the Edinburgh experience that many who found their way into the petite bourgeoisie were born in another class. Once in the petit bourgeois class their chances of remaining appeared slim. Without the recourse to tracing the cycle of fortune of numerous individuals the degree of instability can be seen in the persistence rates of firms remaining in business. Tables 1.1 and 1.2 examine the

TABLE 1.1

PERSISRENCE RATES OF FIRMS IN SELECTED RETAIL TRADES, 1850-55; 1890-95

Trade	1850	1855	Still Listed	% Disappearing	Trade	1890	1895	Still Listed	% Disappearing
Spirit Dealers	261	292	103	60	Spirit Dealers	389	394	154	60
Victual Dealers	109	97	57	48	Victual Dealers	146	112	72	51
Butchers	125	105	72	42	Tobacconists	188	208	96	49
Hatters	25	24	15	40	China, Glass	90	96	53	41
China, Glass	40	40	26	35	Hosiers, Glovers	113	112	69	39
Coal	85	89	56	34	Grocers	689	655	432	37
Booksellers	98	111	71	28	Drapers	248	266	160	36
Tobacconists	39	43	28	28	Coal	229	240	155	32
Wine Merchants	50	47	36	28	Butchers	230	248	157	32
Hosiers, Glovers	28	23	21	25	Booksellers	149	155	104	30
Drapers	129	136	97	24	Hatters	67	70	49	27
Ironmongers	50	48	40	20	Ironmongers	121	130	89	27
Grocers	220	222	184	16	Wine Merchants	149	170	124	17

Source: Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directories

persistence rates of firms appearing in the Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directories for two time spans 1850 to 1855 and 1890 to 1895.[30] Table 1.1 lists selected retail trades by rank order of disappearance from the directories. It is not the purpose here to explain the differences between trades or to offer an explanation of any change over time. The point is to highlight the almost chronic instability of the class. In the period 1850 to 1855 some 60 per cent of spirit dealers disappeared from the directory. In 1890 to 1895 spirit dealers again topped the league with a figure of 60 per cent. Towards the bottom of the table in the period 1850 to 1855 were the grocers who had a disappearance rate of only 16 per cent.. Yet by 1890 to 1895 some 37 per cent of grocers had disappeared from the directory in a five year period. On average a retailer had a one in three chance of disappearing from business, for whatever reason, in a five year period.[31]

Similarly table 1.2 lists selected production trades by rank order of disappearance from the directories. In 1850-1855 builders topped the list with some 47 per cent of their number disappearing from the directory. Though by 1890 to 1895 only 22 per cent of their number had disappeared. At that date coachbuilders topped the table with 48 per cent of their number disappearing from the trade directory. Slaters by comparison saw only 17 per cent of their number disappearing. Again, on average

TABLE 1.2

PERSISTENCE RATES OF FIRMS IN SELECTED PRODUCTIVE TRADES, 1850-55; 1890-95

Trade	1850	1855	Still Listed	% Disappearing	Trade	1890	1895	Still Listed	% Disappearing
Builders, Masons	78	84	41	47	Coachbuilders	23	22	12	48
Bakers	186	165	105	44	Dressmakers	504	569	274	46
Cabinetmakers	97	84	54	44	Confectioners	169	211	93	45
Jewellers	42	35	24	43	Brushmakers	31	27	19	39
Dressmakers	121	117	70	42	Shoemakers	315	289	196	38
Tailors	184	170	111	40	Jewellers	141	151	95	33
Carver, Gilder	19	22	12	37	Tailors	316	328	214	32
Engravers etc.	85	72	56	34	Joiners	287	305	197	31
Printers	67	57	44	34	Engravers etc.	102	100	71	30
Painters, Glaziers	81	75	54	33	Carver, Gilder	63	70	45	29
Brushmakers	16	20	11	31	Bakers	247	264	178	28
Confectioners	30	33	21	30	Smiths	111	118	82	26
Smiths	66	60	46	30	Painters, Glaziers	162	161	124	25
Bookbinders	30	27	21	28	Builders, Masons	144	138	112	22
Slaters	23	26	18	26	Printers	126	136	101	20
Shoemakers	133	156	100	25	Cabinetmakers	193	230	155	20
Joiners	70	67	53	24	Bookbinders	39	49	32	18
Coachbuilders	20	19	16	20	Slaters	47	50	39	17

Source: Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directories.

there was a one in three chance of disappearing from business, in a five year period. In short the class was riddled with instability and insecurity and members of it were unable to reproduce themselves as individuals. As the tables show, however, the remarkable feature of the class was its persistent ability to maintain itself as a whole on the basis of continuing recruitment throughout the nineteenth century. As a collectivity the importance of the petit bourgeois class was thus maintained.

The instability of the class was a feature which acted to prevent the emergence of a sustained class consciousness built around the aspirations of small property. Without a sustained consciousness some commentators have questioned as to how far we can speak of a class as such. Moreover, the problem of an apparent divide between the interests of shopkeepers and craftsmen has been highlighted by Blackbourn in the case of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Germany. Blackbourn argues that to unite such groups may in fact be 'misleading'; and that there were more disimilarities than similarities.[32] But surely this fact would apply to any class looked at in isolation. Looked at in this way they do exude differences. Within the capitalist class there are many competing and seemingly disparate groups finance capital sometimes finds itself opposed to industrial capital and some industrialists have competing interests against those of other industrialists. Class is an aggregate of individual acts and interests.[33]

And more important class is not a thing but a social relationship. Classes are defined by recourse to other classes.

The petite bourgeoisie, the class of small property, had different and antagonistic interests to capital and labour. Their position falling between the two major classes posed problems for the class in articulating those interests.

The question of the demise of the petite bourgeoisie looms large in the literature.[34] The apparent predictions of Marx and Engels on the dissaparance of the class has fuelled such speculation.[35] On closer inspection however, it is clear that they are referring to individuals and groups within the stratum; for at the same time they speak of the petite bourgeoisie 'ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society'.[36] With the development of modern industry individuals and groups within the class were destined to disappear, but others often emerged to take their place. When Marx and Engels did speak of the demise of the petite bourgeoisie it is clear that they were addressing themselves to the role of the class in the class struggle; and not the social structure of society. The petite bourgeoisie, they argued, no longer possessed any power or developed consciousness with which to affect the dynamic of capitalism in their own class interests. Their interests and overall power were as the century progressed no longer sufficient to determine the outcome

of the struggle. Ultimately they might side with either capital or labour, or both.[37] It was this role in the class struggle that set the class as a 'transitional class.' Largely incapable of succeeding in playing a determining role in the outcome of the struggle.

But this is different from not acknowledging the contribution made by the petite bourgeoisie to the process of class and social formation. Neither should that contribution be underestimated. In the chapters that follow the importance of the small masters in the economic social and political structures of the city is demonstrated. The small master producer and retailer continued as important features of the economy and society of Edinburgh. The class of small property did not decline but increased. But the persistence of the class was accompanied by changes in the economic relationships with the Bourgeoisie. Such relationships were often exploitative and eroded the valued independence of the small master. Though the process fell short of actual proletarianisation.

The absence of an industrial bourgeoisie in any preponderant numbers was an important feature of the social and economic structure in nineteenth century Edinburgh. The importance of the petite bourgeoisie, along with some small capitalists, in the social and class structure was accordingly greater. It was, as a result, through the small master community that much of class struggle was

therefore articulated. The capitalist mode of production succeeded in making the small masters subservient to its dictates. Yet, although the game and rules of the class struggle between capital and labour might be made elsewhere, the petite bourgeoisie held the positions of immediate power.

In the chapters that follow an attempt is made to reassess the contribution of the small masters to the complex process of economic, political, social, and class formation in nineteenth century Edinburgh. In the light of questions now being asked it is hopefully a timely contribution. For example Anderson has recently argued that the 'protracted hiatus in the development of the labour movement between the 1840s and the 1880s is to be partly explained by the length and hesitancy of the transition between workshop and factory as model types of industrial organisation in England'.[38] Similarly, and because of the legacy of the workshop, Stedman Jones has argued that a 're-making' of the working-class occurred between 1870 and 1900.[39] In all this the role of the small master and the face to face control of the workforce was of prime importance. A knowledge of the petite bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century is essential to our understanding of other areas of historiography and questions of analysis.

Though the power of British capital in the nineteenth century was such that the petite bourgeoisie 'was deprived

of the chance to play its heroic part in history',[40] this did not exclude them from playing a role if not the starring one they enjoyed on the continent. In national politics the petite bourgeoisie were a latent and potential force, particularly in the pre-1850 period. In Edinburgh a section of the petite bourgeoisie were active in political radicalism, as members of the Edinburgh Political Union, the Edinburgh Reform Association, Chartism, and the Complete Suffrage Association. Conflictingly they were also supporters of the Anti-Corn Law League, Liberalism and Whigism. They were the spearhead of and the target for a number of political groupings. At the local level of government the petite bourgeoisie were well represented on Town Councils and other administrative bodies.[41] As a result the small masters exercised considerable power in local communities. In Edinburgh the petite bourgeoisie were to be found on the Town Council and other institutions of local government exercising power in the decision making process.

To understand the complexity of the process of social and class formation historians must begin to focus on the role of the small masters. The petite bourgeoisie formulated few rules in the nineteenth century, they lacked a sustained ideology and were unable to halt the dynamic of capitalist development, but as leading players they were able to interpret the rules to fit their interests. They held positions of power and authority. In the everyday

life of the workshop it was they who were the immediate employer of substantial numbers of the workforce. Our understanding will prove all the greater if attention is focussed on this 'transitional' class.

CHAPTER II

NINETEENTH CENTURY EDINBURGH: SOCIETY AND INDUSTRY

This chapter has two main tasks. One is to describe in outline the social and historical features of nineteenth century Edinburgh in the years 1830 to 1900. The other is to attempt to construct an appraisal of the urban economy in that period, and in the process to establish the important role played by the petite bourgeoisie.

Historically Edinburgh was the capital of Scotland. Despite the Union of the Crowns in 1707 and the removal of the seat of government to London, the city continued to function as a quasi-capital, where national institutions including the judiciary, the leading churches, educational institutions and financial institutions were located.[1]

Yet from the beginning of the nineteenth century Glasgow was, and remained, the industrial capital. It was there that the period of the industrial revolution had its greatest impact. Nonetheless, in the late eighteenth century it was not at all self evident that Edinburgh

would soon give way to Glasgow as the more important centre of industrial production. Edinburgh was important as an import and export centre. The foreign trade of the Lothians was the monopoly of the Edinburgh merchants. This was due in no small measure to the fact that although the port of Leith was geographically situated in the Burgh of Leith, the harbour was the possession of the city of Edinburgh 'from the earliest period of recorded history'.[2] With her own port the city was well furnished to carry on trade with Europe and to develop as an industrial centre. Indeed the city had a substantial reputation as a manufacturing centre. This was especially so in the manufacture of coaches and sedan chairs which were exported to the leading cities of Europe. Bremner, informs us from a letter of 1783 that 'there was lately an order from Paris to one coachmaker in Edinburgh for 1,000 crane necked carriages to be executed in three years'.[3]

As a result of the national importance of Edinburgh, aristocratic and professional wealth was centred on the city. Adam Black M.P. for the city, and a leading book publisher described the town as a 'West endy, East windy' city.[4] By the middle of the nineteenth century when Black's observation was made the reputation of the town as a residential centre for the elite in Scottish society was well established, and in some respects was on a par with the fashionable West End society of London. This in its turn brought an air of conspicuous consumption to the city, and

Edinburgh was established as a centre for the luxury and finishing trades.[5]

Like other cities Edinburgh experienced population growth. From 1831 to 1901 the population rose from 136,054 to 298,113; an increase of some 119 per cent. Yet as Gray points out the growth was less than that of the more industrial cities of Scotland, notably Glasgow and Dundee.[6] Nonetheless, there was almost a two-fold increase in the population which together with the impact of developments in transport contributed to the expansion of the urban area. Such expansion was accompanied by changes in the spatial distribution and social composition of the population. But the most significant period of building in the city, that of the New Town, was accomplished in the period 1770 to 1820. This planned development catered predominantly for the nobility, gentry, and wealthiest bourgeois groups. However, as the nineteenth century progressed the social composition of the area took on a more mixed appearance. Reflecting on the early experience a diarist of 1825, commented that 'we hardly find a respectable family even of the middle-class, the best part of the Old Town inhabitants holding a kind of intermediate rank between the middle and lower classes, such as tailors, shoemakers and other tradesmen who may have a few men working under them'.[7] A section of the petite bourgeoisie remained in the Old Town for it continued to be the centre of trading and business. Close proximity to one's business was a factor influencing residence in the early period.

As the city developed and building proceeded apace, social class segregation took place more on a street level than on broad geographical areas. True there was still the broad divide between the labouring population, the bulk of whom remained in the Old Town and those wealthy groups who dominated in parts of the New Town. Social segregation, however, was based on social stratification rather than class seperation, with intermediate strata such as white collar groups, small businessmen and artisans living in close proximity to wealth and privilege.[8] By the end of the century there was new development towards the creation of middle-class suburbs, again such developments were stratified according to the cost and style of housing. Groups moving to these areas established their distance from manual workers who remained in the Old Town.[9]

OCCUPATIONS

Any attempt to examine the occupational structure of the city must start with the printed census reports. Tables 2:1 and 2:2 are a breakdown of the information for Edinburgh at 1841 and 1901.[10] From the tables it is clear that manufacturing was the largest employing sector accounting for approximately one third of the occupied population in 1841 and 1901. Those dealing in some aspect of the retail trade formed, with the exception of domestic service, the

Table 2.1: Occupational Structure of Edinburgh, 1841

Sector	Male	Female	Total.	% Population
Agriculture & Fishing	1,187	143	1,330	2.4
Mining	65	2	67	0.1
Building	3,447	13	3,460	6.2
Manufacture	15,610	2,821	18,431	33.1
Transport	1,733	20	1,753	3.1
Dealing	4,513	1,854	6,367	11.4
Industrial Service	3,783	84	3,867	6.9
Public Service & Professional	4,633	412	5,045	9.1
Domestic Service	1,701	13,979	15,680	28.2
Total(s)	36,671	19,328	55,600	100.5
Property Owners & Independent means	1,090	5,374	6,464	

Source: PP 1844, XXVII.

Table 2.2: Occupational Structure of Edinburgh, 1901

Sector	Male	Female	Total	% Population
Agriculture & Fishing	1,315	151	1,466	0.9
Mining	662	18	680	0.5
Building	14,676	53	14,727	10.0
Manufacture	29,298	16,178	45,476	30.9
Transport	12,266	528	12,794	8.7
Dealing	13,344	6,404	19,748	13.4
Industrial Service	8,724	2,851	11,575	7.9
Public Service & Professional	11,032	4,610	15,642	10.6
Domestic Service	2,254	22,850	25,104	17.1
Total(s)	93,569	53,643	147,212	100.0
Property Owners & Independent Means	3,386	7,721	11,107	

Source: PP 1904, CVII.

second largest sector in both periods. Of particular note also, is the large industrial service, public service, and professional groups, together with those of independent means. This middle-class and white collar section of the population was an important feature of the social structure, sharing in the civic leadership and government of the city, whilst at the same time providing the necessary funds for the existence of small master production and distribution. Francis Groome compared Edinburgh's professional strata with other towns from information abstracted from the 1831 census. He found that 'the number of capitalists, bankers, professional men, and other liberally educated persons, in Edinburgh and Leith's total population of 161,909 was 7,463; while the number in Glasgow's population of 202,246 was only 2,723; in Manchester and Salford's population of 182,812 it was only 2821'.[11] This was a feature of the city considered by historians then and now.[12] By the nature of their employments the petite bourgeoisie were to be found in the sectors of manufacturing, retailing and building, which together employed over half the working population of Edinburgh in both 1841 and 1901. Within the manufacturing sector consumer trades dominated especially clothing, and the finishing trades in furniture, jewellery and coachmaking.[13]

To what extent then did the petite bourgeoisie feature in the economy of nineteenth century Edinburgh? Given the absence of a census of production and distribution for Britain in the nineteenth century, information in respect of the industrial structure of towns and cities is partly available from occupational censuses. Where large numbers in a particular trade, or industry, are in evidence, then the importance of the trade to the city's industrial structure is argued for. However, the information from the occupational censuses is grossly deficient in portraying the actual industrial structure. Only the firm structure of an industry can hope to portray this. With the exception of the 1851 census, no attempt was made in the nineteenth century to differentiate employers from employees.[14] The petite bourgeoisie as owners of businesses are not distinguishable in the census returns. Consequently, an alternative source of indicating the business structure of the city was required. The only alternative source was to use Post Office Directories. Yet, although quantification of the petite bourgeoisie from occupational census returns are an impossibility, they were nontheless a social phenomenon and were observed as such by contemporaries in nineteenth century Edinburgh. Heighton waxed eloquently, on the war of status in Edinburgh society, 'the merchants - not great with us - stand between the professionals and the shopkeepers; these are getting up; the Big Panes despise the Little Panes. The latter expel the Tradesmen, who erect a Nez Retrousse against the Labourers'.[15]

It was general to subsume the small masters under titles such as 'shopocracy', and in Edinburgh it was again observed that a 'shop-keeping class' had grown up which 'had so increased in numbers and affluence that it threatens the position of the patricians as the ruling class'.[16]

INDUSTRY

Though the main stream economic history of Britain has conventionally stressed the development of the large productive unit in industry, the remarkable feature of the industrial structure of nineteenth century Edinburgh was the absence of factory production on any significant scale.[17] Whilst it was true that there were factories in printing, brewing, rubber making, and to an extent engineering, on the whole these never dominated the industrial structure of the city. They were novel in an industrial setting that was otherwise characterised by the workshop.

The industrial base of Edinburgh was dominated by small master production and distribution in the nineteenth century. To what extent Edinburgh was unique in this respect is dealt with in another section. However, some preliminary observations on the contrast between Edinburgh and other towns, particularly Glasgow, in the industrialisation process are required here. With London there was

a parallel, as both cities were national centres and both were to develop as centres of consumer and finishing trades.[18] Yet while the failure of London to develop as a centre of large scale production is often seen as the result of its distance from the coal fields, which would raise costs of production, such an analysis, cannot be applied to Edinburgh.[19] For Edinburgh was situated in the midst of the central coal belt. Why Edinburgh did not rival, or indeed prevent, Glasgow's industrialisation, is one of the questions of history. Though such questions are manifoldly complex, Edinburgh did lack an essential ingredient and that was the availability of water power on which to build the nucleus of a textile industry. Water power was never sufficient in Edinburgh to drive machinery. The Water of Leith, the city's only river, is small and could accommodate only small mills, usually flour and tanneries which dotted the riverbank from Leith to Gorgie. Steam technology, however, was a different matter, and the abundance of coal at least included the possibility of industrial development on a much larger scale.

Neither was Edinburgh unduly affected by developments in transportation. The town had of course the Port of Leith and from 1823 was linked directly to Glasgow and the West of Scotland by the Union Canal. However, a Port like Leith, though closer to Europe, was not so well placed to take advantage of trade with the empire and America. Neither was the railways over late in reaching Edinburgh.

Leaders of the business community in the city actively campaigned for the building of the first railway line linking Edinburgh and Glasgow. This line was opened in 1842 with its terminus at the Haymarket. The North British Line followed in 1846 and the Caledonian line to Carlisle in 1848.[20] Whilst on the subject of transportation, local communication was most affected by the development of a tramway system in Edinburgh from 1871, and the introduction of the cable car in 1887.[21]

Edinburgh's failure to industrialise on a par with Glasgow, and other centres, did not go unnoticed. As early as 1835 the Town Council appointed a sub-committee to prepare a report on the need for Edinburgh to establish itself as an industrial centre.[22] Addressing itself to no particular 'party' or 'class', the report was intended for all 'inhabitants'. The report drew attention to the falling value of agricultural produce, and the removal to London of many of the public offices responsible for the collection and distribution of revenue. These factors, among others, it continued, affected not only the circulation of money within the city, the 'life blood of trade', but added to a 'great depression in the value of property rapidly spreading over the city'. Attention was then drawn to the city's abundance of coal, water, labour supply, building materials and port. It was suggested by the committee that the city endeavour to promote a number of industry schemes, one of which was to establish 'Ayrshire

Work'[23] in the town. The other schemes revolved around plans to create a factory in the city concerned with some aspect of the textile trade.[24]

Behind the idea was the attempt to mediate the interests of the petite bourgeoisie who had substantial representation on the reformed Town Council.[25] For a textile factory posed no direct threat to their economic interests. Instead it was felt that such projects would 'rub off on machine makers, ironfounders, smiths, joiners, masons, bricklayers . . . and to the whole body of merchants, shopkeepers, tradesmen and mechanics.'[26]

These proposals appear to have come to nothing. Yet by the early 1840s the Edinburgh Silk-Yarn Company had been established, with factory premises at Fountainbridge. The company employed over four hundred men and women, and eighty boys and girls under the age of eighteen. Machinery in the factory was powered by two steam engines of sixty horsepower. The venture, however, lasted a little over ten years. What is significant is that it was undoubtedly the largest single employer dominating Edinburgh's industrial skyline.[27] A picture of the industrial base might also be drawn from government reports and the observations of contemporaries. There is nonetheless the tendency to over emphasise single institutions of size, to concentrate on moral aspects, particularly the factory acts, to the detriment of representing the actual industrial structure

of the nineteenth century Edinburgh economy. From the report of the Children's Employment Commission of 1843, several establishments of a large size operating in Edinburgh were examined. The following is a clear indication of those industrial units of any size operating in the city in the decade preceding the mid-century point. Though to some extent emphasis was placed on establishments employing young workers. Thus the Edinburgh and Leith Ropery Company, under the managership of John Dalrymple employed thirty-six adult males and sixty boys. Mr. Alexander Turnbull, Manager of the Edinburgh and Leith Glass Company, employed thirty-four men and ten young persons. In the Parish of St. Cuthbert's the Shotts Iron Company employed ninety men and nineteen boys. Finally in the printing trade there were a few establishments of size. Located off the High Street, the firm of Robert and William Chambers, printers and publishers, employed thirty-seven men, five women, nineteen boys and nine girls.[28]

Contemporary reports of industrial development in the second half of the century are often impressionistic. As expected such reports concentrate on the few establishments of any size. Thus commonly the feature of the industrial economy alluded to are the establishment of a factory in 1855 for the manufacture of India Rubber products. This occupied the former premises of the Edinburgh Silk-Yarn Company. The rubber company specialised in the manufacture of rubber shoes and other articles. On opening it employed

around three hundred and fifty hands, by 1885 it employed 'about 600 within the premises and about as many more in an indirect way'.[29] Shortly after the commencement of the first factory, a second was built by the shareholders. Here combs were manufactured, over 7,500,000 per year, and around five hundred persons employed.[30]

By the period 1870 it was possible to find factory establishments in a number of specific trades. They were printing; typefounding; stationery; brewing; papermaking machinery; brassfounding; and glassmaking.[31] Whereas in the majority of cases the number of factories was confined to one; in brewing and printing they numbered more. In the manufacture of beer 'some of the breweries are amongst the largest in the kingdom', and in the first five years of trading as a limited company the firm of McEwans averaged yearly profits of £92,000.[32] In printing the two leading firms in the town were Nelson's who employed some seven hundred hands, and W. & R. Chambers who employed six hundred.[33]

Clearly then, by the last decades of the nineteenth century the factory had emerged in a number of specific manufacturing trades. However, this form of production did not constitute the dominant structure in Edinburgh's industrial economy. An analysis of the industrial structure needs to move away from the largely impressionistic accounts of contemporary reports and some Parliamentary Papers. On closer inspection it can be demonstrated that the dominant

unit of production in nineteenth century Edinburgh continued to be the workshop, and generally the small workshop. The task of undertaking a more detailed examination of the industrial base can be attempted through the use of Post Office Directories.[34] As noted previously occupational censuses do not differentiate employers from employees. The petite bourgeoisie as owners of businesses are not distinguishable in the census returns. The Post Office Directory material has the advantage of listing all businesses operating in the locality. The maior drawback of the directories is that they do not differentiate between the large and small businesses. Rather they constitute a guide to the numbers of firms operating in the city at any one time in the nineteenth century.[35] Three broad industrial sectors, those of manufacturing, retailing and building were examined on the basis of their potentiallity for petit bourgeois production and distribution. Information from the directories is presented in the following tables, 2:3, 2:4 and 2:5.[36]

Table 2:3 illustrates the distribution of firms engaged in manufacture in 1841, 1871 and 1901. It can be seen that Edinburgh was predominantly a centre of the finishing trades. By far the most important area of firm concentration was dress. Firms in that sector accounted for 35.3 per cent in 1841; 32 per cent in 1871; and 27.4 per cent in 1901. Baking, printing and furniture making were next in importance. Taking the areas of finishing and

luxury goods, that is dress, furniture, jewellery, watch-making etc., then these accounted for almost half of all firms engaged in the manufacturing sectors of Edinburgh's economy at each time point. This emphasis on consumer-ism reflected the social structure of the city, where pro-fessional, white collar and rentier groups provided a market for finished goods. Significantly, these sectors were dominated by a numerical coterie of small master producers. In the jewellery trade upwards of 'thirty master jewellers' employed from 'half-a-dozen to thirty men each'. Their workshops dominated the closes of the Old Town and 'out of the way lanes in the New Town'.[37]

Elsewhere among the trades small masters continued to persist as the typical unit of production particularly in the finished goods and service sector of the economy. Yet even where the factory had developed as it did in the nineteenth century Edinburgh printing industry small master production was to be found competing side by side, and often complementing the work of the larger unit. Persistence, however, was accompanied by fundamental changes in the nature of the economic relationships between the petite bourgeoisie and large capitalists. This theme is explored in chapter five below.

Table 2.3: Number and Percentage Distribution of Firms Engaged in Manufacture: 1841, 1871, 1901.

Sector	(1) 1841	(2)	(1) 1871	(2)	(1) 1901	(2)
Machinery	8	0.4	111	3.6	202	4.6
Tools etc.	43	2.4	63	2.0	92	2.1
Shipbuilding	16	0.9	28	0.9	45	1.0
Iron and Steel	90	5.0	161	5.2	152	3.5
Copper Tin Lead	36	2.0	78	2.5	133	3.0
Gold and Silver	66	3.7	107	3.5	187	4.3
Earthenware	5	0.3	32	1.0	84	2.0
Coal and Gas	1	---	1	---	---	---
Chemicals	6	0.3	58	1.9	134	3.1
Furs and Leathers	27	1.5	61	2.0	55	1.3
Glue and Tallow	17	0.9	8	0.3	15	0.3
Hair etc.	22	1.2	37	1.2	23	0.5
Woodworkers	71	3.9	106	3.4	102	2.3
Furniture	126	7.0	278	9.0	375	8.5
Carriages etc.	43	2.4	61	2.0	129	2.9
Paper	5	0.3	23	0.7	46	1.0
Waterproofs etc.	3	0.2	6	0.2	10	0.2
Woollens	3	0.2	17	0.6	21	0.5
Cotton and Silk	17	0.9	7	0.2	7	0.1
Flax Hemp etc.	9	0.5	---	---	2	---
Lace	13	0.7	23	0.7	24	0.5
Dyeing	20	1.1	22	0.7	24	0.5
Dress	634	35.3	982	32.0	1204	27.4
Sundries	18	1.0	41	1.3	55	1.3
Food	11	0.6	37	1.2	74	1.7
Baking	221	12.3	328	10.6	416	9.5
Drink	40	2.2	51	1.7	152	3.5
Smoking	26	1.4	31	1.0	23	0.5
Watches Toys etc.	56	3.1	137	4.4	288	6.6
Printing	146	8.1	191	6.2	317	7.2

Column (1) = Number of Firms
Column (2) = Percentage Distribution

Source: Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory, 1841-42, 1871-72 and 1901-02.

Similarly, table 2:4 indicates the distribution of firms engaged in retailing in the periods 1841, 1871 and 1901. The significant feature is those firms involved in the retail of food. Food firms accounted for 33.8 per cent

of all firms engaged in retailing in 1841; 30 per cent in 1871; and 34.2 per cent in 1901. Next in importance were the drink retailers closely followed by those firms engaged in the retail of dress. It hardly needs emphasising that the structure of retail distribution in the nineteenth century remained the preserve of the small masters.[38]

Table 2.4: Number and Percentage Distribution of Firms Engaged in Retailing: 1841, 1871, 1901.

Sector	(1) 1841	(2)	(1) 1871	(2)	(1) 1901	(2)
Coals	84	4.2	202	4.7	277	4.8
Raw Materials	57	0.3	189	4.3	213	3.7
Clothing Materials	7	0.3	46	1.1	74	1.3
Dress (a)	154	7.7	325	7.5	415	7.2
Food (b)	677	33.8	1300	30.0	1971	34.2
Tobacco	21	1.0	83	1.9	214	3.7
Wines and Spirits	440	22.0	629	14.5	666	11.5
Coffee Houses (c)	9	0.4	122	2.8	92	1.6
Furniture	39	1.9	91	2.1	156	2.7
Stationery etc.	126	6.3	209	4.8	399	6.9
Household etc.	84	4.2	198	4.6	276	4.8
General Dealers	29	1.4	135	3.1	196	3.4
Unspecified	277	13.8	814	18.7	818	14.2

Column (1) = Number of Firms
Column (2) = Percentage Distribution

Source: as Table 2.3

Notes: (a) Half hatters to manufacture, half to retail
(b) Some spirit dealers included
(c) Excludes lodging houses

In regard to the building industry, no advantage was to be gained in breaking down the trade into its craft demarcations. It was and remained an important area of small

master production.[39] Table 2:5 illustrates the importance of building firms in Edinburgh relative to those firms involved in manufacture and retailing, and requires little comment.

Table 2.5: Number and Percentage Distribution of Firms Engaged in Manufacture, Retailing and Building: 1841, 1871, 1901.

Sector	(1) 1841	(2)	(1) 1871	(2)	(1) 1901	(2)
Manufacturing	1798	43.5	3086	38.0	4391	39.0
Retailing	2004	48.5	4343	53.0	5767	51.0
Building	332	8.0	760	9.0	1105	10.0

Column (1) = Number of Firms
Column (2) = Percentage Distribution

Source: as Table 2.3

In themselves, the foregoing three tables are only a partial guide to locating the petite bourgeoisie in the industrial structure. They do not sufficiently demonstrate the survival of small master production. A more reliable indicator of the continued existence of small master production in the nineteenth century is evidence as to numbers employed. Of the occupational censuses in the nineteenth century only the 1851 census attempted to gain information as to numbers employed by masters. The results were not thought to be uniformly good. For this reason the evidence for Scotland, in the printed returns,

grouped together the nine leading towns. To establish the position for Edinburgh itself, the enumerators' books were analysed. Each household whose head was described as a master was extracted and information as to numbers employed collated. Table 2:6 shows the size distribution of firms in selected productive trades in Edinburgh for 1851.[40] The column headed (0*) refers to no men employed or that no information was provided; a proportion were undoubtedly self-employed, perhaps utilising family labour which was not recorded by the enumerator. Without dwelling too much on the information the picture is one where across almost all trades the typical unit of production in 1851 was the small workshop. For example, in tailoring, if the 70 making no return are excluded then of those 130 stating the numbers employed 70.8 per cent employed 1-5 persons; 87.7 per cent employed 10 persons or less; and 94.6 per cent 20 or less. Of the 41 printers who stated the numbers they employed 36.6 per cent employed 1-5 persons; 63.4 per cent 10 persons or less; and 73.2 per cent 20 or less. In cabinetmaking the respective figures were 60.5 per cent, 84.9 per cent, and 89.5 per cent. Moreover, in 1851 Edinburgh was by no means unique.[41]

Table 2.6: Size of Firms in Productive Trades in Edinburgh, 1851

Trade	Total	0*	1-5	6-10	11-20	21-30	31-50	51-75	76-100	100 +
Tailor	200	70	92	22	9	5	1	-	-	1
Shoemaker	282	128	101	31	15	5	2	-	-	-
Hatter/glover	18	4	8	2	3	-	1	-	-	-
Bookbinder	23	5	4	6	3	3	1	-	-	1
Printer	49	8	15	11	4	5	3	2	1	-
Engraver	30	5	18	2	4	1	-	-	-	-
Lithographer	7	-	1	1	3	1	1	-	-	-
Musical Instruments	11	3	3	3	2	-	-	-	-	-
Watchmaker	32	12	18	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Lapidary	8	2	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jeweller	21	7	7	4	1	2	-	-	-	-
Silversmith	6	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Goldsmith	9	3	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	-
Builder	55	6	6	9	16	6	3	4	2	3
Mason	22	3	12	5	1	1	-	-	-	-
Joiner	17	7	8	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Wright	23	8	12	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carpenter	25	4	15	3	2	1	-	-	-	-
Slater	21	4	14	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
Plasterer	16	5	5	3	2	1	-	-	-	-
Painter	69	14	36	10	6	1	1	1	-	-
Glazier	6	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Plumber	26	-	20	1	2	1	1	-	1	-
Coachmaker	16	2	2	1	4	4	1	1	1	-
Saddler	19	5	6	5	3	-	-	-	-	-
Tanner	11	2	1	2	3	1	1	1	-	-
Currier	4	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brushmaker	8	1	3	1	2	-	1	-	-	-
Corkcutter	5	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Upholsterer	24	5	4	7	1	1	2	2	1	1
Cabinetmaker	108	22	52	21	4	3	2	3	-	1
Wood Turner	10	3	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Basketmaker	8	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carver/Gider	20	7	9	3	1	-	-	-	-	-
Cooper	8	3	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Toolmaker	5	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Engineer	17	1	5	1	4	-	6	-	-	-
Tinsmith	19	4	13	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Brassfounder	19	3	5	1	3	3	-	-	3	1
Typefounder	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Smith	57	8	36	9	3	-	1	-	-	-
Ironfounder	5	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	2
Baker	187	25	143	16	2	1	-	-	-	-
Brewer	11	2	-	4	2	1	2	-	-	-
Tobacco Manuf.	21	7	3	6	1	1	2	-	-	1

* No men or not stated

Source: Census Enumerator Schedules for Edinburgh

How far this situation had altered by the late nineteenth century in Edinburgh is the obvious question that demands an answer. However, with the failure of the enumerators to attempt in any other census to gain information on numbers employed by individual masters, alternative source material had to be gathered and examined. These sources comprised utilising the post office directories together with information from the censuses, analysing the factory inspectors' and local authority inspectors' returns on workshops, and bringing to light information from trade union sources. In table 2:7 the mean size of establishments in various productive sectors is shown for 1841 and 1901. The mean was calculated from the number of those employed in the census returns divided by the number of firms appearing in the post office directories, and is indicated in column (5). Nothing is claimed for these figures beyond the broad indications they give. However, overall the figures do point to the small average size of the productive unit across a significant number of trades. Comparing column (1) in 1841 with 1901 points to the expansion of the urban economy. Much of this expansion was the result of growth in the petit bourgeois sector.

Table 2.7: Mean Number of Employees per Firm: 1841 and 1901

Sector	1841 (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	1901 (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Machinery	8	0.4	426	2.1	53.2	202	4.6	3511	7.0	17.4
Tools etc	43	2.4	461	2.3	10.7	92	2.1	715	1.4	7.8
Shipbuilding	16	0.9	381	1.9	23.8	45	1.0	945	1.9	21.0
Iron and Steel	90	5.0	1404	7.1	15.6	152	3.5	2625	5.2	17.3
Copper Tin Lead	36	2.0	704	3.6	19.5	133	3.0	2364	4.7	17.7
Gold and Silver	66	3.7	343	1.7	5.2	187	4.3	329	0.6	1.8
Earthenware	5	0.3	209	1.0	41.8	84	2.0	753	1.5	9.0
Coal and Gas										
Chemicals	6	0.3	44	0.2	7.3	134	3.1	111	0.2	0.8
Furs and Leather	27	1.5	405	2.0	15.0	55	1.3	623	1.2	11.3
Glue and Tallow	17	0.9	73	0.4	4.3	15	1.3	208	0.4	13.9
Hair etc	22	1.2	326	1.6	14.8	23	0.5	243	0.5	10.7
Woodworkers	71	3.9	994	5.0	14.0	102	2.3	2237	4.5	21.9
Furniture	126	7.0	1496	7.6	11.9	375	8.5	1876	3.7	5.0
Carriages etc	43	2.4	534	2.7	12.4	129	2.9	894	1.8	6.9
Paper	5	0.3	56	0.3	11.2	46	1.0	1900	3.8	41.3
Waterproofs etc	3	0.2	33	0.2	11.0	10	0.2	2675	5.3	267.5
Woollens	3	0.2	82	0.4	27.3	21	0.5	195	0.4	9.3
Cotton and Silk	17	0.9	432	2.2	25.4	7	0.1	96	0.2	13.7
Flax Hemp etc	9	0.5	467	2.4	51.9	2	---	776	1.5	388.0
Lace	13	0.7	63	0.3	4.8	24	0.5	6	---	----
Dyeing	20	1.1	76	0.4	3.8	24	0.5	40	0.1	1.7
Dress	634	35.3	7065	35.9	11.1	1204	27.4	11405	22.9	9.5
Sundries	18	1.0	76	0.4	4.2	55	1.3	61	0.1	1.1
Food	11	0.6	98	0.5	8.9	74	1.7	634	1.3	8.6
Baking	221	12.3	961	4.9	4.3	416	9.5	4269	8.5	10.3
Drink	40	2.2	249	1.3	6.2	152	3.5	1421	2.8	9.3
Smoking	26	1.4	41	0.2	1.6	23	0.5	582	1.2	25.3
Watches Toys etc	56	3.1	354	1.8	6.2	288	6.6	1445	2.9	5.0
Printing	146	8.1	1854	9.4	12.7	317	7.2	7127	14.2	22.5

Column: (1) = Number of Firms; (2) = Percentage of Firms; (3) = Number of Employees; (4) = Percentage of Employees; (5) = Mean Number of Employees per Firm

Source: as Table 2.3; Printed Census Returns, 1841 and 1901. (Both Edinburgh and Leith)

Table 2.8: Mean Level of Steam Power and Mean Numbers Employed in Firms in Productive Trades in Edinburgh, 1876

Trade	Total	Steam H.P.	Males 13-18	Females	Males 19+	Total
Embroidery	4	----	---	13.2	5.0	18
Shoemaker	148	----	0.2	0.8	5.1	6
Dressmaker	204	----	---	8.8	0.1	9
Shirtmaking	16	----	---	11.1	---	11
Tailor	124	----	0.2	1.0	8.1	9
Hatter	8	----	0.3	12.8	16.4	30
Gunmaking	5	----	3.6	---	8.0	12
Cutlery	9	----	0.9	0.1	3.1	4
Tools	4	----	1.7	---	3.5	5
Jewellery	26	----	2.4	---	5.4	8
Watchmaker	28	----	1.7	---	2.5	4
Instruments	2	----	1.5	---	6.5	8
Tanners	12	5.6	3.2	---	15.8	19
Saddlery	18	----	1.2	0.1	4.2	5
Candles	2	----	1.0	---	---	10
Foundries	19	9.8	26.3	---	66.5	93
Machinery	14	22.6	11.3	3.3	62.3	77
Glassmaking	2	25.0	23.5	7.5	87.5	119
Baker	187	0.2	1.2	0.4	2.8	4
Brewer	25	15.7	5.8	---	32.6	38
Mason	43	1.5	2.0	---	16.1	18
Joiner	119	0.2	1.7	---	7.3	9
Painter	57	----	2.0	---	5.0	7
Cabinetmaker	104	0.4	2.6	1.6	10.3	15
Paper Staining	3	6.7	13.0	8.3	12.0	33
Envelope Making	1	14.0	---	73.0	11.0	84
Ropemaking	3	----	8.0	---	6.3	14
Earthenware	1	----	1.0	9.0	12.0	22
Fancy Box Making	4	----	1.5	0.5	1.2	3
Coachbuilding	11	----	5.0	---	15.4	20
Cooper	3	----	3.7	---	8.7	12
Tobacco	15	1.5	5.4	12.9	4.9	23
India Rubber	3	151.0	7.7	188.3	140.7	337
Letterpress Printing	54	6.3	9.3	7.5	25.7	43
Lithography	21	----	1.7	2.8	4.2	9
Engraving	16	----	1.9	---	3.4	5
Bookbinding	27	1.6	7.0	30.1	18.0	55

Source: PP 1876, XXIX.

In table 2:8 the mean size of firm and the mean level of steam horse-power per firm is illustrated for the year 1876. The mean numbers employed from this source again point to the overall smallness of the productive unit across a number of trades. Perhaps of more significance in this table is the low level, and complete absence, of steam technology as the basis of powered rotary motion in the greater number of firms. This absence of rotary motion was an important causal explanation for the persistence of the petit bourgeois productive unit. By 1892, workshop trades were placed under some authority and supervision by local government inspectors. A report to the Town Council on the state of workshop production in Edinburgh in 1895 again provides information on the mean size of workshops in the city. This information, presented in table 2:9, once more demonstrates the small average size of the productive unit in a number of trades.

Table 2.9: Mean number of Workers in Edinburgh Workshops, 1895

Trade	Firms	Males	Females	Total
Dress, Mantle Makers	189	0.4	15.0	15
Tailors	185	8.0	2.0	10
Milliners	84	0.1	5.0	5
Coachbuilders, Cabinetmakers	54	16.0	2.0	18
Bootmakers	28	9.0	0.6	10
Jewel Case mkrs., Engravers	10	4.0	0.8	5
Furriers	8	1.0	5.0	6
Photographers	24	2.0	4.0	6
Watchmakers	30	4.0	---	4
Saddlers	17	4.0	---	4
Fancy Box Makers	6	2.0	16.0	18
Miscellaneous	69	4.0	4.0	8

Source: Return of Local Inspector's Report to the Edinburgh Town Council, Reports of Town Council Minutes, 1895-96.

In only one trade in Edinburgh was there information forthcoming on the size distribution of firms. This was the handworked shoe trade in Edinburgh. Table 2:10 presents information over the period 1856-87.[42] Significant in this table is the cut off made in the report at (8+) men. This reflects the overall smallness of the unit of production in this trade. If the firms employing casuals are excluded, the greater proportion of firms at each year of the survey employed less than eight men.[43]

Table 2:10: Numbers Employed in the Handworked Shoe Trade in Edinburgh, 1856-87

Year	Shop	1-3	4-7	8+	Casuals	Total
1856	1st	1	4	1	--	6
	2nd	20	14	12	20	66
	3rd	7	6	--	2	15
	4th	9	6	--	3	10
		37	30	13	25	105
1866	1st	--	2	1	--	3
	2nd	18	16	9	29	72
	3rd	18	7	--	15	40
	4th	9	3	1	4	17
		45	28	11	48	142
1876	1st	--	2	1	--	3
	2nd	16	9	7	5	37
	3rd	24	1	--	6	31
	4th	17	1	1	6	25
		57	13	9	17	96
1887	1st	1	1	--	--	2
	2nd	11	7	5	2	25
	3rd	15	6	--	26	47
	4th	6	1	1	2	10
		33	15	6	30	84

Source: Edinburgh Cordwainers' Society

Despite having to rely on mean figures the evidence overwhelmingly points to the continued existence of small master production as an important feature of Edinburgh's industrial structure. Add to this numbers of petit bourgeois engaged in retailing, and then the petit bourgeois stratus not only persisted but may be seen to have expanded in certain areas of the city economy in the Victorian period. The significance of this for the class and social structure of nineteenth century Edinburgh forms much of the discussion below. The purpose here has been to establish that the petite bourgeoisie continued as a historical reality.

However, to what extent was Edinburgh unique in this respect? The paucity of research into the urban economy and the role played by the petite bourgeoisie in towns and cities makes comparison with Edinburgh difficult. Nonetheless a growing body of evidence may suggest that the situation in Edinburgh was far from unique.

Certainly, the situation in Edinburgh for much of the nineteenth century is similar, in the extent to which the petite bourgeoisie were a vibrant part of the economy, to London,[44] Birmingham,[45] and Sheffield.[46] Moreover, as Crossick shows, the economies of regional centres such as Newcastle, Bristol, Leeds, and Cardiff together with the smaller county and market towns provided important locations for the petite bourgeoisie.[47] Further research may

demonstrate that Edinburgh far from being a unique case may actually be more typical of the urban economy in Britain, and the part played in that economy by the survival and persistence of small masters in both production and distribution again more typical.

Edinburgh, then, was a capital city. A centre of residence for aristocratic and bourgeois wealth. National legal and religious institutions were centred there, together with a number of educational establishments. It had a preponderance of professional groups and a reputation as a centre for the country's intelligentsia. The industrial economy was built around the needs of this community. The consumer trades and printing were a prominent feature. And within this economy the petite bourgeoisie remained and was ever renewing its presence in the nineteenth century.

This chapter has concentrated on describing the nineteenth century economy and the part played by small masters in Edinburgh. It is on this that succeeding chapters build in their analysis of the changing position, fortunes, and life chances of the petite bourgeoisie in Victorian Edinburgh.

CHAPTER III

THE SHOPKEEPERS

This chapter examines the petit bourgeois shopkeepers against the background of economic and social change. In the following chapter their response and action over the changes are examined. Retailing was dominated by the small master retailers, however, the distribution sector of the economy did not remain static, for it was affected not only by the process of industrialisation but also by changes in the nature of retailing. These changes have been well documented.[1] They amounted to a revolution analogous to events that had taken place in the industrial sector of the economy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In short capitalism in the second half of the nineteenth century in the form of large scale retailing together with wholesalers and manufacturers made an assault on the economic interests, and consequently the class position and social standing, of the small master retailers.

The majority of research into nineteenth century retailing has reported on the development of large scale concerns. This over concentration on the 'winners' in the

history of retailing has been undertaken at the cost of ignoring the small men, who firmly believed that it was at their expense that such development took place. Little historical investigation into the reaction of the small men as to their fate has occurred.[2] In this respect there is an historical hiatus which must be filled if an understanding of the economic and social position of the shopkeepers is to be gained. Only by examining the dynamic of change in distribution and its effects on the small masters can the process of social interaction, of class formation, and of class ideology and behaviour be understood. The class position of the petite bourgeoisie is contradictory. The more this is understood the more important does it become to realise the transitional nature of the class in relation to the two major classes of capitalist society.

In any periodisation of the changes taking effect, the last decades of the nineteenth century must be considered the important decades. It is on this period that the chapter concentrates. As a result a chronological blow by blow account is not forthcoming precisely because change in retailing did not take place in this manner. What can be said is that a number of factors including the rise of the large stores, the intervention of manufacturers in the pricing policy, the growth of intermediary wholesalers and the growth of proprietary articles, all combined in this period to cause anxiety amongst the small masters for

their future economic well-being. By necessity such factors are examined at the national as well as the local level in Edinburgh.

One of the more important developments was the gradual, and it was gradual, separation of production and distribution into separate spheres. Mass manufactured goods were the apex of this process. Distribution moved from being pre-industrial in character, where markets were generally localised, to catering for a national market and mass demand for the increasing number of proprietary articles. All this would not have been possible but for the revolution in transport. The railway was of particular importance, and at the local level the tramways, and laterly the motor-car. All had the effect of undermining local monopolies. In this sense the changes in retailing were of greater effect and account in the post 1850 period.

Before charting these structural changes, it is necessary to devote space to some of the conceptual and definitional problems that have appeared in the literature. Then the development of retailing and the question of the survival of the small shopkeeper is discussed in relation to Edinburgh.

INDEPENDENCE? COMMUNITY? AND CLASS POSITION.

Amongst British historians and sociologists there are two areas that are problematic in regard to the shopkeepers. First is the notion of the independent shopkeeper; and what this term is meant to convey. Second is the question of community and the attempt to define shopkeepers' class position by the community they served.

The small shopkeeper has long persisted as the symbol of 'independence' in British society.[3] It has been argued that the 'possession of a small shop means an independent livelihood'.[4] Much has been made of this notion of independence, but what is to be understood by it? From whom, or what, are the small retailers independent? At least one group of commentators have focussed on freedom from exploitation, and here the comparison is to be made with the working class and the surplus value relationship that exists between them and the bourgeoisie. If exploitation existed for the petit bourgeois shopkeepers it took the form of 'self-exploitation'; the result of self-imposed working conditions, particularly the long hours endured by many small retailers.[5] It is argued here that the concept of independence without qualification is a devalued term that results in obscuring the economic and social relationship that emerged between the small master retailers and large capital.

The concept of freedom from exploitation is at odds with the underlying reality of the economic, and consequently social relationships between the bourgeoisie and the small masters. The comparison made in relation to the working class has helped to prevent an appreciation of the exploitative relationships that developed, particularly in the later decades of the nineteenth century.[6] Working class exploitation by the bourgeoisie takes the form of the extraction of surplus value, this is accompanied by the loss of control of labour power by the worker. Together they were the twin pillars underpinning the process of proletarianisation.[7] In the sphere of distribution the petite bourgeoisie do not, it is true, produce surplus value. However, by shortening the time of circulation between sale and profit return they may indirectly increase the amount of surplus value acruing to the capitalist class. For the capitalist class part of the way in which the surplus acruing to them may be increased is through exploiting their relationship with the small master retailer. In other words by reducing the level of profit going to the small retailer. That this is true of the economic relations between capitalists should be noted, but the smaller the concern does this facet of exploitation become of greater importance to the well-being of the retailer.[8] This form of exploitation was conducted by a series of threads that on the level of appearance were subsumed in credit mechanisms, competition and the branding of merchandise as proprietary articles. It is hoped to show that independence was more illusory than real.

Thus whilst objectively the notion of independence that has been current requires serious qualification, this should not preclude the realisation of the importance of the subjective element in the notion of freedom. For in the subjective lay the roots of ideology and behaviour, as well as the belief in the social status of the small masters. Freedom from the vagaries of paid employment was for many a real independence.

Whilst the class location of the petite bourgeoisie has been developed more fully in the opening chapter, commentators in regard to the shopkeepers have argued the importance of community in defining class position. This is not compatable with an attempt to reach an objective assessment of class. Vigne and Howkins are a case in point. They rightly question the value of the term shopkeeper for its failure to account for the range of diversity contained within it. But in attempting to overcome this problem they come close to arguing that a shopkeeper in a working class community was by implication of association working class.[9] Elsewhere, Crossick has been right to question such an approach.[10] While class identity was for many a problem in the petite bourgeoisie, particularly for those whose origins lay in the working class, their small property and freedom from wage labour was the distinguishing feature that marked them as petit bourgeois. Of course there were groups who shaded imperceptibly into both the working and middle class. But at

the core was a large, if often transient and unstable, class of small property.

The term shopkeeper is widely used in both this and the following chapter. Its use needs some qualification and explanation here. It is recognised that the broad use of this occupational title takes little account of diversity. On the one hand the John Lewises' and Thomas Lipton's of the retail world sit uneasily when placed in a socially unified stratum of shopkeepers. In Edinburgh William Fettes, a former Lord Provost of Edinburgh, was sometimes described as a shopkeeper. But he was also a government contractor, who on his death in 1836 left the residue of an estate of between £300,000-£450,000 for the purpose of founding an educational college for the sons of the city's burgess.[11] Men like Fettes were of course members of the retailing capitalist class. Towards the end of the century in Edinburgh that class included men like Charles Jenner, Charles Kennington, Robert Allan, Patrick Thomson; all with interests in large drapery establishments. At the other end of the social scale were the shopkeepers described by Robert Cutlar doing business in the area of St. Ann's Yard near the Palace of Holyrood, 'where cabbage, and curds and cream are retailed in wretched tenements'.[12]

Between these extremes of wealth and status there existed the substantial stratum of the petite bourgeoisie. They were 'à core of substantial tradesmen separate from both

the rich and powerful as well as from the journeymen'.[13] There were differences between those who constituted this core. Differences, as Winstanley shows, between the skilled craftsmen - retailer and the unskilled shopkeepers, between city, town, suburban and rural dealers, between high class, mixed and working class traders, as well as the differences between the different trades of retailing.[14] Moreover, as a consequence of the uneven nature of developments in retailing some sections of the shopkeepers experienced different threats at different periods. And while some appeared to be fighting for their very existence there were others taking advantage of new developments to trade in bicycles, electrical goods etc.

When using the term shopkeeper or retailer, a distinction has been made between the producer-retailer, for example the tailor, and the retailer, for example the draper. This seemed the best direction to take in view of the fact that many of the problems of the producer - retailers were more closely located in the area of industrial production than the system of distribution. Moreover it is clear that by the period of the mid-nineteenth century the craftsman - retailer was on the absolute decline, and forced initially to concentrate on the craft production side of the business.[15]

To stop the historical process and reveal the differences amongst the shopkeepers is not pursued in any great detail

here. Partly because the extant material regarding Edinburgh did not permit of such a course of analysis, but more important because the analysis wanted to prioritise the common ground and experience of shopkeepers that made for class consciousness. Class is always to be defined in relation to other classes. Any class looked at in isolation can be seen to have many divisions. Nonetheless the divisions were important and often acted to counter the solidarity of the group.

There is above all a need to analyse the objective class position of small shopkeepers and their role in the process of class formation.[16] Adscriptive notions of class identity, no matter how important, cannot replace objective definition and analysis. While social relationships and social interaction do not inhabit a world defined entirely by class; the more important aspects of social relationships do. In this respect the social world of the petite bourgeoisie is a complex of manifold dimensions which the historian can at best recreate only in fragments. Only by reference to class and the fragmented evidence of social interaction does it become possible to present an analysis of the petite bourgeoisie.

The most important feature of the class relationships of the petite bourgeoisie is the extent to which they were in fact independent. There were observers of the small master shopkeepers who argued that on the basis of their

economic relationship with capital there was little to distinguish them from wage labour itself. True they might in some instances have superior incomes but the size of the purse was less important than how the income was obtained.

In 1834, in attempting to analyse the rewards going to merchant capital and the petit bourgeois shopkeepers, Chambers' Edinburgh Journal argued that 'between the gain of the merchant and the gain of the shopkeeper, there is this important distinction: one consists chiefly of profit from the employment of capital, the other is little more than the fair wage of labour received for the trouble of standing behind the counter and for weighing, dividing and measuring out commodities in quantities suited to the buyer'.[17] This was early recognition of the economic relationship between capital and the small master retailers that placed the shopkeeper in a position that hardly differed in economic terms from the wage labourer. Similarly some sixty years later an editorial in the Grocer argued that 'the profits of small businesses when subjected to economic analysis are found to consist largely of the wages of superintendance.'[18] The difference between the small men and their employees might be slight. Towards the end of the century it was stated that 'employers are in many cases practically working as assistants'.[19] It was felt that changes in

the nature of distribution toward control by large capital had diminished the role of the shopkeeper to a mere link in the division of labour whereby he was deprived of 'all independent thought and action'.[20] A letter to the Scottish Trader was more direct and spoke of retailers fast becoming 'little more than penny-in-the-slot machines, which take in the money and push out the goods'.[21] Again there were those amongst the penny-in-the-slot men who were particularly appreciative of the economic situation between small retailer and capital, and it was argued that the retailers could not deny:

> that we have toiled for others to reap the rewards of our labours; we have given to the public what we reasonably might have kept and the manufacturer has taken the profits which should have enriched ourselves. We have been content to sell, and to use our shops and warehouses for the advantage of others leaving them to gather the reward of our increasing labours . . . we live to sell, not for our own advancement but for the advancement of others, and in order that we may help to create wealthy manufacturers; we are giving our own life's blood so that they may become millionaires.[22]

The position of many of the small master retailers had been reduced to that of the surrogate employee for a conglomerate of large manufacturing firms. In this respect Mr. J. Jamieson Blanche of Portobello, a dormitory town of Edinburgh, wrote of his hope that one day he and his fellow shopkeepers would be 'released from the serfdom of being the unpaid agents of the great manufacturers.' This in his view would only come about when

retailers had control of the articles they sold, this was a forlorn hope given the reality of the structure of capitalism.[23]

There was certainly an awareness amongst some retailers of a retail world dominated by 'the large capitalists who's position is secured and from the top of a pile of bankruptcies he looks down upon the aspirations and struggles of poorer men very often with lofty indifference'.[24] By the end of the nineteenth century it was being stated that the manufacture of pills, plasters, extracts, were made by employees in 'great factories, and have steam engines to help them'. A clear awareness of exploitation was evident for 'we think it a regrettable result of modern civilisation that craft which is the kernel of our industry should reap so meagre a reward, while those who know how to exploit skill and the brains of others should secure so large a proportion of the remuneration'.[25]

The economic relationships fostered by capitalism on the petit bourgeois retailer was one that bore all the marks of exploitation though this in part was obscured in the buying and selling function. On the surface at least the small retailer appeared to be in control of the price and sale function. However, in reality the growth of proprietary articles and an increasing dependence on credit meant that the small master's claim to independence was an illusive one. Though he did have control of his labour process, and was free from the face to face relationships

of exploitation, he did not escape the fact of exploitation. For many however, control of the labour process and freedom from authority structures in the work place were enough to mark a measure of independence denied to the average wage earner, and in this fact alone lay the continuous desire of the many who set themselves up as small shopkeepers. Moreover, setting up in business was seen not always as a step to riches but as one way of guaranteeing a stable and regular income.

Yet on questions regarding economic relationships between capital, whether wholesaler or manufacturer and the petite bourgeoisie, concern was expressed by the few rather than the many. How far the few articulated the heart felt response of the majority is uncertain. Overall more concern was expressed over the nature and issue of competition rather than on the relationships between shopkeepers and their suppliers.[26]

SHOPKEEPING

In the mid-nineteenth century Henry Mayhew suggested that 'the shopkeeper supplies principally the noblemen and gentry with the necessaries and luxuries of life, but the pedlar or hawker is the purveyor in general to the poor'.[27] This was an over-simplification as fixed retail outlets

catering for all social classes were clearly evident in the first half of the century.[28] Though market stalls and hawkers were important in the distribution network, their overall importance was on the decline in favour of the fixed outlet. The growth of large-scale industrial production, population growth, urbanisation, the changes in the mode and efficiency of the transport systems, together with increases in disposable incomes, all contributed to the rise of the fixed retail outlet, and as a consequence the gradual decline of the pre-industrial forms of retailing.

Like other towns and cities Edinburgh had been well catered for in the early part of the century by markets and pedlars. Up to the year 1821 the city's fruit and vegetable market was held in Hunter Square, and in part of the High Street adjoining the Tron Church. Carters, farmers, nurserymen and hawkers brought their produce and wares from the surrounding locality to sell. In 1823 this market was removed to under the North Bridge where it remained for the next forty-six years. Then it removed once more to the purpose built and enclosed Waverly Market.[29] By this time the market was becoming a centre of wholesale marketing rather than retailing. Fresh fruit, meat and fish products, together with dairy produce were still sold in markets in the city centre at the end of the century.[30] The most important feature of the markets, however, was the move away from retailing to the creation of centralised wholesaling.

The process of centralised wholesaling had consequences for sections of the retail trade. The butchers were a particularly good example. In the 1840's the Town Council in Edinburgh embarked on a policy of the gradual removal of the 'shambles' in the city. These were places dotted around the town where the killing and slaughter of animals took place. There removal was for reasons of public health. But not only was the removal of the shambles considered a great inconvenience it was also a serious loss to the butchers in carrying out their business. In 1849 a memorial, signed by a large number of the city's butchers, was presented to the Town Council requesting that the Corporation obtain Parliamentary legislation to erect public slaughterhouses. As a result purpose-built abattoirs were opened at Fountainbridge; but not until May 1852.[31] This concentration of the market for butcher meat in one area gave an impetus to the development of wholesaling in the trade, which in the long term increased the dependence of the retail butcher on the wholesaler. In 1853 the Edinburgh News, concluded 'that there are not less than 150 flesher's shops scattered about the city; and the time honoured stalls in the Fleshmarket are rapidly acquiring a wholesale character - indeed it is now the market where those fleshers who do not slaughter for themselves purchase their meat'.[32] Parliamentary legislation in 1850 ensured that the public slaughterhouse would have a monopoly by virtue of prohibiting the killing of animals elsewhere.[33] A further development towards a centralised wholesaling

system came with the introduction of sales by auction of cattle, horses and sheep. Auction marts were established and in Edinburgh this was done under license from the Town Council. This form of trading gradually superceded the old methods of private bargain.[34] Such processes increased the dependence of the butchers on the wholesalers.

As retail markets declined in importance from the 1850's there was a corresponding increase in the number of fixed retail outlets. This was fuelled by increased demand for all manner of products as a result of the growing purchasing power of the bulk of the population, together with the cheapening of many goods. In the period 1860 to 1900 it has been estimated that the overall gain in real wages of the average urban wage earner rose by nearly 60 per cent.[35] Many goods that had been considered luxuries came within the purchasing reach of the working classes. The price of tea fell from 2 shillings per pound in 1840 to 5d in 1909. The consumption of both tea and sugar per head of population doubled in the years 1869 to 1911. In the same period bacon, ham and eggs increased four fold in consumption levels.[36]

The increase in demand together with the increase in volume and variety of goods saw an acceleration of fixed retail outlets after 1850. First there was a substantial increase in the number of small outlets. Second, there was the development of large retailing concerns in the

form of co-operative stores, department stores and multiple trading concerns. The effects of the first was to increase competition among the small masters. The effects of the second was perceived as a threat to eclipse the small master trader. Trade journals readily concerned themselves with the question 'is the single shop vanishing?' and in numerical terms at least could point to increases in the number of traders.[37] Most surveys carried out by the retail trade press used census figures on which to base their evidence. This approach was again fraught with problems. The problem of examining the growth of retailers, more particularly retail outlets stems from the fact that there was never in the nineteenth century a census of distribution.

The Post Office Directories again form an alternative source on which to build a picture of retail development. The analysis focuses on Edinburgh over the period 1841 to 1871 and 1871 to 1901 and is based on table 3.1. The figures are based on the number of firms and do not take account of the number of branches. In the event this was a relatively minor omission. Trades that appear to be in decline by 1901, for example, corn dealers and victuallers, were probably subsumed in other trades, for instance, the grocer probably took over many of the functions of the victualler, as a result of developments in food processing. The remarkable feature of the evidence is the extent to which the number of retail businesses increased overall

in the period 1841 to 1901. The decline in the importance of markets, new developments in transport, and the coming of mass demand all contributed to the expansion of the fixed retail sector. The period 1841 to 1871 witnessed the greatest increase as the percentage figures show. The number of grocers rose by 45.4 per cent and butchers by 30.4 per cent. The decline in the importance of markets is seen by the increase in outlets for fruiterers, 80.5 per cent; and fishmongers, 85.7 per cent. From 1871 to 1901 the growth was less spectacular and on average there was a 20 per cent increase across all retail trades. There are, of course, specific individual reasons why some trades might expand or decline, generally as a result of changes in productive techniques, or new tastes, or developments in the production of commodities. This of course affected the livelihoods of some sectors of the petite bourgeoisie, But where as developments created problems for some, it opened up new opportunities for others. While victuallers were on the decrease newsagents were on the increase.

From the table it is clearly evident that far from being on the decline the number of retail concerns were on the increase, and the vast majority were owned by the petite bourgeoisie in Edinburgh. Neither does this phenomenon relate solely to Edinburgh. Crossick has argued elsewhere that the small retailer was far from declining.[38] To emphasise the point, Ford in a study of changes in the number of shops in the period 1901-1931 pointed to a continuing increase in the number of retailers.[39] Despite

the challenge from the large scale trading concerns 'the process of concentration' even by 1948, had 'not yet approached the position in industry'.[40] The significance of this development was that it increased the level of competition amongst the small masters themselves at a time when they already faced the competitive threat from large scale concerns.

Table 3.1: Number of Firms in Selected Retail Trades in Edinburgh 1841, 1871 and 1901, showing percentage increase.

Trade	1841	1871	(%)	1901	(%)
Bookseller, Stationer	111	123	9.7	140	12.1
China, Glass, Stoneware	37	78	52.6	84	7.1
Coal Merchant	84	202	58.4	277	27.0
Corn Dealer	32	109	70.6	106	2.8
Dairykeepers	66	119	44.5	361	67.0
Drapers, Haberdashers	114	203	43.8	284	28.5
Butcher	112	161	30.4	222	27.5
Fishmonger	6	42	85.7	97	56.7
Fruiterer	15	77	80.5	188	59.0
Furniture Dealer	18	56	67.8	73	23.3
Grocer (Spirit Dealers)	314	575	45.4	624	7.8
Wholesale Grocer	7	15	53.3	22	31.8
Hosier, Glover, Hatter	28	64	56.2	110	41.8
Ironmonger	43	82	47.6	128	35.9
Spirit Dealer	229	414	44.7	365	13.4
Tea, Coffee Dealer	25	62	59.7	94	34.0
Tobacconist	47	114	58.8	228	50.0
Newsagent	---	56	100.0	197	71.6
Toy, Fancy Goods	21	93	77.4	101	7.9
Victual, Provision Dealer	119	162	26.5	133	21.8
Wine, Spirit Merchant	104	120	13.3	227	47.1
Chemist	56	87	35.6	149	41.6

Source: As table 2.3

The ranks of the small master retailing community were often swelled by the movement of artisan master producers,

who unable to compete with industrial production turned to selling and repairing products. The Edinburgh News commented on this process when describing the state of the hatter and hosiery trade in the city in 1853: 'they might sell hats but they did not make them; they might sell hose, but these were spun in Yorkshire or knitted in Shetland; they might in short sell anything they liked, but they never made anything'.[41] A similar process was reported for the boot and shoe trade in 1876. A leading trade journal stated that the trade had undergone radical changes in the previous twenty years. The trade had been widely organised on bespoke lines which involved working to the orders of individual customers. The gradual introduction of sewing and other machinery was to alter this state of affairs and usher in the wholesale ready made manufacturer and merchant, unable to compete the shoemaker was forced to transform himself into a retailer, or become a repairer of shoes, or both.[42]

However, the expansion that occurred was accompanied by a high rate of turnover which pointed to a stratum that was riddled with instability. Moreover, the figures which show the total in each trade at the beginning and end of each of the sample periods demonstrate the extent to which the failures were constantly being replaced by new business ventures eager to try their luck on the trading game. There was a continual flux of movement both in and out of the petit bourgeois retailers. Newcomers were, probably in the main, recruited from the ranks of the working classes,

journeymen, ex-shop assistants and the lower end of the white collar work force, all eager to escape the vagaries and uncertainty of paid employment; and all after that illusive independence. It was also possible that some came from the ranks of the professional and better paid white collar groups, perhaps with excess income to invest in a small business, though this might not imply giving up their existing positions. The lack of biographical information makes more certain qualification difficult.

There was then no shortage of recruits to the small master retailing community. This in a sense gave the impression, when looked at in terms of the total number of retailers, that the stratum was fairly stable. In fact as the rate of turnover shows the structure of the small retailing businesses rested on a base of uncertainty, brought about by competition and other forms of economic pressure. Instability was a sign of the transitory nature of the group and another qualification to the notion of independence.

Competition between retailers ensured that long opening hours was a characteristic of retailing in the scramble for customers. The dividing line between work and leisure was barely recognisable. In the first half of the nineteenth century working hours of twelve to sixteen hours a day was common practice, and on Fridays and Saturdays the day might be longer still.[43] Neither had this situation

radically altered by the end of the century. Table 3.2 is an indicator of hours worked in retail establishments in Edinburgh during the year 1895. The basis on which the evidence was collected remains unclear, and little is known of firms working under fifty hours per week. However, it is clear that 45.1 per cent of all the retailers investigated worked fifty hours or more. Moreover there were individual trades where hours of seventy to seventy-four a week were all too common, 44.1 per cent of grocers for example worked such hours and 34.1 per cent of chemists did likewise. In so far as the table allows comparison between trades those dealing in food, drink and dress on the whole tended to work longer hours than those engaged in the luxury and producer retailer type trades.

Table 3.2: Hours Worked in Retail Trades in Edinburgh, 1895

Trade	No. Shops	50-70 hrs	70-74 hrs
Bootmakers	242	83	28
Butchers	272	164	45
Bakers, Confectioners	550	129	84
Booksellers, Stationers	139	93	6
Chemists	126	44	43
Dairykeepers	415	32	43
Dressmakers, Milliners	153	81	5
Fruiterers	309	119	52
Grocers	719	94	317
Hatters, Hosiers, Drapers	332	150	45
Ironmongers	114	74	7
Jewellers	93	34	6
Spirit Merchants	294	14	50
Tailors, Clothiers	148	79	6
Tobacconists, Newsagents	319	55	26
Miscellaneous	1287	389	90
	5512	1634	853

Source: Minutes of the Edinburgh Town Council, 1896, 219-22

As well as the long hours worked in retailing it was often the case that shopkeepers were to be found living in close proximity, often above, the business premises. This too emphasised the uncertain division between work and leisure, where the business remained central and around it life revolved.[44] By the end of the century the practice was less common as the central area of the city was given over to business premises of one sort or another.[45] Only in working class districts of the city did the practice remain. The valuation rolls of 1890 for the Dalry area of the city in this respect record a substantial number of houses come shops.[46] A report of the Public Health Committee to the Town Council on ice-cream shops in the city reported that out of seventy-eight tenants visited only thirty-nine lived apart from the premises though of those living on the premises many were Italian immigrants.[47]

The centrality of the business in the life of the petite bourgeoisie is further evident in the extent to which the business was run on family labour. Marwick has argued that this was a common feature in eighteenth and nineteenth century Edinburgh.[48] By family business it is taken to mean a business that employed members of the family as the workforce. In 1890 it was still seen as an essential part of starting in business that an individuals wife serve behind the counter thus saving on the expense of hiring an assistant.[49] The household thus functioned as a self-contained unit with little demarcation between the business and the home. How far this was still the case in Edinburgh

towards the end of the century can be ascertained from Table 3.3. Clearly from the evidence here the assumption that a large percentage of businesses operated as family concerns can be tested. For example only 5.1 per cent of butchers came into that category. What seems evident is that those trades which required a significant degree of skill, or were among the . wealthier of trades including butchers, ironmongers, jewellers, then these were less likely to utilise family labour. To this extent this probably marked a measure of prosperity among these different trades. Of those trades utilising family labour in any significant way tobacconists and newsagents still had 42.3 per cent of their number employing family labour, fruiterers had 31.4 per cent, bakers and confectioners 29.4 per cent, and grocers 17.2 per cent. These trades were among the most easy to enter, often requiring little skill and little capital outlay. Such trades formed the typical avenue of social mobility for many a working-class aspirant. Starting out with little capital and still dependant on family labour.

The actual working conditions in retailing trades changed retailing little over the century. Technological change had little direct impact in the trades themselves. The most significant development was the growth of proprietary articles, standardised products and ready to wear clothing. Ready prepared articles for sale increased the quantity of merchandise the shopkeeper could handle, but at the same

time it led to a diminution of skill in the preparation, and making of products. From the established traders point of view it allowed interlopers to set up in competition.

Table 3.3: Number of Family Businesses in Edinburgh, 1895

Trade	No. Shops	Family	(%)
Bootmakers	242	17	7.0
Butchers	272	14	5.1
Bakers, Confectioners	550	162	29.4
Booksellers, Stationers	139	8	5.7
Chemists	126	3	2.4
Dairykeepers	415	158	38.1
Dressmakers, Milliners	153	26	17.0
Fruiterers	309	97	31.4
Grocers	719	124	17.2
Hatters, Hosiers, Drapers	332	22	6.6
Ironmongers	114	6	5.3
Jewellers	93	2	2.1
Spirit Merchants	294	11	3.7
Tailors, Clothiers	148	7	4.7
Tobacconists, Newsagents	319	135	42.3
Miscellaneous	1287	279	21.7
	5512	1071	19.1

Source: As table 3.2

In shopkeeping the relationship between retailer and customer was an important one. The retailer met the customer across the counter every working day. This social interaction marked a difference between the retailer and the more workshop-based small master craftsmen. Moreover, it is in consequence of this fact that emphasis has been placed on examining the social behaviour of the shopkeepers

by recourse to the community they served.[50] In many circumstances the clientele bestowed social status and social honour. However, a basic division must be mentioned here. In relation to Edinburgh's elite and tail the social and economic relationship between elite customer and small master retailer revolved around one of client dependency. Whereas in their relationship with the working classes small masters were able to exercise considerable power over the life chances of the worker and his family. Such power arose from the control of credit supplied to the workers by small master retailers.

The client dependency of a section of the petite bourgeoisie, whose social and economic position in part rested on their dealings with Edinburgh's established bourgeoisie and tail, is best appreciated from the importance of bourgeois purchasing power for the retail ecomony. In 1878, though it had long been the case, a report on the state of the retail trade in the city commented on the importance of what it called the 'upper ten', who were expected to return to the city for the autumn and winter months. It was in these months that the 'retail harvest' would be reaped.[51] In passing, the report highlighted the point that retailing was affected by a seasonality of distribution. This feature cut across all levels of retailing. In 1898 the winter season was stated to be a fairly good time for all the retailers in the city, and clothiers and dressmakers did a good trade as a result of

the cold and damp weather.[52] Whilst some retailers depended more on a middle-class clientele for their sales, still others were firmly rooted in providing for a working-class buying public. Such retailers were affected too by changes in the circumstances of their customers. Indeed 'rentday . . . always has the effect of making ready money scarce', as a consequence credit was extended by the retailer.[53] During times of strikes or lock-outs the purchasing power of workers involved was drastically reduced, this again had repercussions for the well being of traders.[54]

The dispensing of credit was important in cementing economic relationships between the retailer and his customer. Often a distinction was made between the middle classes and working classes by some retailers. Moreover, there were those retailers who would differentiate within the classes in terms of good and bad credit risks. In general the middle-classes found it easier to obtain credit, and for many it was the natural form of transaction. In 1879, in the New Town in Edinburgh, the retail trade was said to be principally based on credit, for the residents 'would not have the trouble of the cash system'. In the Old Town it was principally cash, and this was attributed to the working-class nature of the area.[55] However, this was a vast oversimplification and when it was in their best interests shopkeepers were only too willing to give credit to sectors of the working class. Indeed it was canvassed as a tactic to prevent customers buying from the co-operative stores.

But when credit was dispensed by shopkeepers it might be seen as an issue of conflict and illustrative of the power of the petite bourgeoisie in working class communities. A letter to the Reformer, an Edinburgh newspaper of the Liberal working-class, in 1868 argued that:

> 'the majority of grocers in poorer parts of the town encourage credit by giving it to customers, and at the week or fortnights end, as the case may be, not asking for full payment, but leaving a balance to bring the customer back, and so continues until he is that much in debt that they must come to a settlement . . . '[56]

As economic pressure increased on small retailers the scramble for customers became ever more apparent, forcing them to adopt credit giving as a method of securing custom. Pennance and Yamey have detected a shift amongst grocers in this respect. By 1900, editorials in The Grocer were encouraging readers to cultivate the 'weekly book' account in order to draw custom away from the co-operatives and multiples.[57] Twenty years previously a prize winning essay of the Edinburgh Grocers' Association outlined what the writer saw as the dangers of the credit system and urged that members open no new credit business; that they convert their existing credit business to cash; and that they embark on a resumption of cash prices only.[58]

The change of outlook was brought about by the new competitive threat from the co-operative stores together with the department stores and multiple trading concerns.

CO-OPERATIVES

Although the co-operative movement has a long history and the pioneering attempts of the Rochdale movement abound in the literature, it was essentially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that the co-operative stores expanded on a scale sufficient to arouse suspicion, fear and hostility amongst the ranks of the petit bourgeois retailers. An upward trend in membership and sales established the stores as a serious competitive threat. On a national level Jeffreys has estimated that from a membership of some 100,000 subscribers in 1863 this figure had by 1905 reached 2,153,015. In the same period sales rose from £2,500,000 to £61,086,991.[59] The increase in turnover and membership was accompanied by key developments in the organisational structure of some of the societies most important was the expansion into wholesaling and processing. In 1863 the Co-operative Wholesale Society was founded in England. Five years later the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society was founded.[60] Both institutions undertook the process and manufacture of goods, as well as being wholesaler to member societies. In this respect the stores might offer goods and services to members cheaper than could be purchased elsewhere.

The co-operative stores were generally divided into two types, those catering for a predominantly working-class public and those catering for the middle-class status groups. The latter included the Post Office Supply

Association, the Civil Service Supply Association and the Army and Navy Co-operative Society Limited.[61] Both types of society were represented in Edinburgh.

Taken on their own the threat from the co-operative stores may have been more psychological than real. Though this is an issue which will be considered later. There is no doubt, however, that as regards Edinburgh the stores were regarded as a threat to the interests of the local shop-keeping community. In 1879, Mr. Alexander Dickson, a grocer in the High Street gave evidence to the Select Committee on Co-operative Stores. Dickson was to state that the largest co-operative venture in the city was the Professional and Civil Service Supply Association. This association was directed and managed by Crown servants in Register House and other Government offices. He reported that the society did a large trade. Dickson also mentioned the existence of four or five very small societies which were managed by working men on something like the 'Rochdale system'. In evidence he claimed to represent the views of 428 leading grocers in Edinburgh whose main objections to the Professional and Civil Service Supply Association were 'to its name; to its admitting the outside public to trade on payment of 5 shillings each; and lastly to the exemption from taxation it enjoyed'.[62] Thus the opposition was not so much to the store itself but to the preferential treatment and apparent abuse of a government department.

Of the four or five very small working-class societies in Edinburgh, the St. Cuthbert's Association advanced most rapidly in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The society was first founded in 1859 by a body of working-class men. In 1865 it had built its first bakery and had made an early entry into the drapery business. By 1886 a butchery department was started and in 1887 the coal business entered. The crowning achievement of the Association at this time was the opening of large and substantial premises in Bread Street in 1891. The same year a milk processing and distribution centre was established at Fountainbridge together with the opening of two new branches at Nicolson Street and Tynecastle. Expansion was reflected most in a growing membership which in the last quarter of the century rose from 2,000 to 40,000.[63]

Again it is difficult to quantify the precise impact of the rise of the co-operative stores on the trading of the small retailers. As regards the situation in Edinburgh there is no evidence as to the retail share absorbed by the stores. However, Jeffreys has attempted national estimates. On the face of it the economic threat posed by the co-operative stores themselves does not appear as a particularly grave one. In the period around 1875 total sales would not have been much above 2-3 per cent of all sales.[64] Certainly in Edinburgh the threat was seen largely in terms of future developments and Dickson made this point in his evidence to the Royal Commission in 1879.[65]

By 1900 the market share for all commodities absorbed by the stores was of the order of 6-7 per cent, and for specific commodity groups it might be as high as 10 per cent.[66] Equally it has been suggested that during this period the co-operative associations received an increased share of the national wage bill. Clapham estimates that the national wage bill spent on goods purchased in co-operative stores increased from 4.2 per cent to 11.4 per cent in the period 1885 to 1914.[67]

The economic pressure from the societies was not enough to constitute a threat to the continued survival of the petit bourgeois retailer. But in combination with other factors it must have seemed that the small men were destined to be crushed. The paranoia that abounded was heightened by press references to such an eventuality. The Times created a picture of impending oblivion for the small shop at the hands of the co-op's.[68] In Edinburgh in 1879 the local press suggested that a plan to launch the Mutual Supply Association of Scotland, was guaranteed 'to take away the breath not only of the timid and cautious, but of the most lion-hearted and enterprising traders in the country'.[69]

In assessing the response of the petite bourgeoisie to the co-operative threat, however real, the most outspoken comments were expressed in the retail trade press. How far a national press articulated the felt response of the

majority of retailers is a question without an easy answer. Again, how far national reflected local opinion is questionable. Nonetheless if the press did not reflect opinion it was certainly in a position to create it. Trade journals rapidly took on the mantle of political leadership giving voice to the anxieties of the petite bourgeoisie.

From the view point of the small retailer press competition from the co-op's was 'unfair'. Here a world of legitimacy in trading was portrayed.[70] The co-op's were said to be given generous discounts by manufacturers and wholesalers against which the small concern could not compete.[71] By all accounts this was true, and bulk buying often gave the Stores the upper hand in dictating terms to either wholesalers or manufacturers. What further riled the small master retailers was the tax exemption enjoyed by some of the co-operative societies. In the case of Edinburgh it was said that the profits of one society for the year 1899 amounted to £100,000, and yet, 'not a single sixpence of income tax was paid on this large sum'.[72] Alexander Dickson had forcefully argued before the Select Committee on Co-operative Trading that the burden of this lost taxation fell on those who could least afford it i.e. the small shopkeepers. The obvious solution to the question of lost market share was for the small men to retain their customers. It was to this end that the Ironmonger had attempted, as early as 1868, to convince its readership that the dividend system was a 'delusion' and that the small shop sold

just as cheaply as the store. In addition they offered 'ease', 'service' and 'convenience'.[73]

The co-operative stores were seen as a competitive threat by the shopkeepers. They viewed competition from this area as 'unfair'. But the overall market share of sales going to the societies was only of the order of 2-3 per cent. Though in certain specific commodity groups that figure could be nearer 10 per cent. With the benefit of hind-sight it is too easy to dismiss the anxiety of the small shopkeepers to this new-comer. It should also be remembered that the co-op's represented only one part of large scale retailing. In isolation the threat from this sector was probably minimal, but in combination with other factors it must have appeared to many that their world was at an end.

STORES AND MULTIPLES

As with the growth of the co-op's the growth of large stores and multiple trading outlets were once more destined to arouse fear and anxiety in the ranks of the retail community. Like the co-op's they were tangible edifaces in the main shopping centre of most large towns. And in the same way as the co-op's their impact came first in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The department

store was normally situated in a central location, and although rents were higher the utilisation of upper floors for selling purposes, offset this and added to the cost effectiveness of the stores.[74] A policy of low mark-up on prices, ensuring a high rate of stock turnover, allowed the department stores to sell at prices from 15 per cent to 20 per cent cheaper than other retailers. In turn, because of the volume of sales it was possible to receive favourable discounts from wholesalers and manufacturers. In addition the stores were more attractive than the corner shop, offering an Aladin's cave of consumer goods under one roof. Shopping was becoming as much a pleasurable past time as a chore. By spreading their merchandise these stores could spread the risk of seasonal fluctuations and changes in fashion. Again this added to their cost effectiveness and with the introduction of the division of labour coupled with employment of cheaper female labour, the stores were able to compete favourably against the small master retailers.[75]

It was essentially those small retailers engaged in the drapery, clothing, furnishings and luxury goods that had most to fear from the growth of the large store. Yet in nineteenth century Edinburgh, as Marwick points out, there was never a complete example of the department store organised on the principal of the 'universal provider'. The nearest attempt was Walter Wilson's 'Tréon et cie' in the last decade of the century, but the venture only lasted five years.[76] Nonetheless there were stores that in the

last decades of the nineteenth century were sufficient in size to merit the description department store; although dealing mainly in drapery, clothing and soft furnishings. By far the largest was Jenner's of Princes Street. Founded as a small concern in 1838 the firm by 1892 employed 120 staff most of whom still 'lived in'. When a fire destroyed the premises that year, a new building was built, some seven stories in height, which opened in 1895.[77] Other firms of comparable size in the city were J. & R. Allan of South Bridge and Patrick Thomson's of North Bridge. Allan's employed a staff of 140 in 1897 and in that year a limited liability company was formed with a share capital of £120,000.[78] By 1906 the firm of Patrick Thomson occupied the premises at 11, 13, 15, 17, and 19 North Bridge and was an indication of its size.[79]

How far then was the perceived threat of the large store a reality in terms of market sales acruing to them? Once more there are no local figures by which to gauge the effect on the small master retailers in Edinburgh. At the national level, however, Jeffreys once more provides estimates. He suggests that for all commodities the share of sales in 1900 acruing to large stores was unlikely to be above 1-2 per cent. Though in certain commodity groups, clothing and footwear the figure might be as high as 5.5-7.0 per cent. In the particular case of women and children's clothes it reached a figure of around 10 per cent.[80]

A further development which constituted part of the retailing revolution was the growth of the multiple shop. Again this development was largely begun in the last decades of the century.[81] A number of firms quickly became house-hold names: Lipton's, Cooper's, Boots, Home and Colonial Stores. At first such firms specialised in a few lines and gained cost advantages through high stock turnover. Lipton's, for instance specialised in ham and bacon products, which could be refrigerated and stored in large quantities. They also had the advantage over cattle-based meats in that they were cheaper, which was important considering that both products formed a significant part of working-class diets. Through their reliance on cash sales, high turnover, and advertising the multiples expanded.[82]

It is estimated that in 1875 the number of firms having ten or more outlets and less than twenty-five was twenty-nine, with a total number of 978 branches. By 1900 the number of firms had increased to 257 and the number of branches to 11,645. Those firms having more than twenty-five outlets in 1875 numbered ten by 1900 the figure was ninety-four, and by 1914 there were sixteen firms with over 200 branches each and seven firms with over 500 branches.[83] In the eyes of the small masters this expansion must have aggravated their fears still further.

As early as 1882 Lipton had opened a branch in Edinburgh. Situated in a prominent position on the North Bridge it

was reported to do a fair trade and had attracted considerable patronage. The first reaction to this innovative venture by the grocery trade was one of smug contempt. Referring to themselves as the 'aristocracy of the trade' they, looked on Lipton's as a 'clap-trap' business commonly found in Glasgow.[84] By 1900 Lipton's had six branches operating in the city.[85] The first prospectus of the limited company formed in 1898 recorded that the business comprised 80 London branches; 120 English and Welsh; 27 Scots; and 18 Irish.[86] Another Glasgow firm, and rival of Lipton, Cooper's opened its first branch in Edinburgh in 1894. By 1900 it had seven branches in the city. Home and Colonial Stores had three branches in the city by 1895.[87] Edinburgh spawned its own multiple business enterprise. This was John Menzies and Company. The first bookshop was opened in Edinburgh in 1833. A wholesale business soon followed and the extension into retail outlets accompanied this venture. By 1900 the firm of Menzies was a serious rival to W. H. Smith's Limited.[88]

These developments in multiple trading could occur on a less grandiose scale but never the less have a corresponding importance at local level. Mr. W. D. Smith of Edinburgh built up a 'high-class provision and unlicensed grocery business'. In 1897 he purchased the business of a Mr. Laing in Leith Street and a Mr. Blackhall in St. Patrick Square. With these additions Smith had sixteen shops in the city.[89]

What then was the likely effect of the multiple traders on the economic fortunes of the small masters? Again, only national figures can be referred to. In 1900 the percentage share of multiples in all commodities was of the order of 3-4.5 per cent. In this respect they were a greater competitive threat than the large department-type stores. The proportion of market share in specific commodities might be considerably greater, and have corresponding effects on different sections of the small master retailing community. In footwear, multiple shop retailing accounted for 19-21 per cent of sales. By 1915, the share was 32-34 per cent, and seemed to confirm the fears of many small masters. Similarly in 1915 multiples accounted for 13-15 per cent of sales in the chemist's trade; 12-14 per cent of bicycle sales, sewing machines and electrical goods; 12-14 per cent in groceries and provisions; and 9-11 per cent of meat sales.[90]

The figures suggest that the small master retailers had been right to point to a threat that, if not on the whole immediate, was in the long run to prove damaging to their share of the sales market. As early as 1879 the Warehousemen and Drapers' Trade Journal wrote of the effects of new systems of distribution. It pointed to collusion between wholesalers and large scale retailers which was 'killing the retailers'. The trade taken away by the large concerns was, it was argued, sufficient to make the difference between profit and loss, to the extent that some tradesmen could not 'make a living'.[91]

Retailers from the small master community were openly critical of the company stores. Lipton's in particular, was criticised for their attempts to 'monopolise' the trade through extensive advertising and the opening of numerous retail branches.[92] Reports of the activities of the large concerns formed an incessant part of the trade literature. In 1901 there was a reported 934 bankruptcies in the grocery trade. Grocers in that year topped the list of recorded failures. The large concerns were an easy target to apportion the blame,upon.[93] Chemists' agreed with a trade editorial on the 'annihilation of pharmacy proper in this country'. The chemists argued that they could not compete with those multiples that bought large quantities and received discount on the bulk buying.[94] One chemist chose to reflect his anxiety in verse:

> Jesse the scorner sits in his corner,
> Piling the shekels up high;
> Assistants he mops, and accumulates shops,
> As he milks poor old Pharmacy dry.[95]

Jesse the scorner was the Boots company which had embarked on large scale retail expansion.

Again the market share of sales acruing to the stores and multiples was not in the period under discussion sufficient to drive large numbers of shopkeepers out of business. But to those living on the margins of viability it must have appeared that way. The tendency to blame problems

on an easily identifiable target masked a more complex reality of pressure both within the community of small shopkeepers, and new forms of economic pressure from without.

WHOLESALERS AND MANUFACTURERS

The increased productive capacity of industry as a result of industrialisation and technological and organisational change created conditions whereby manufacturers produced on a mass scale. Where the unit costs of goods were low, manufacturers required a quick return to maintain the viability of their firms. The orders of small independent retailers were invariably small because of their inability to maintain large stocks of the innumerable products that the consumer society was capable of producing. Two ways round the problem were open; the manufacturer could himself engage in warehousing and act as a wholesaler, and some did; or he could leave this function to an intermediary capable of linking the vast array of manufactured products with the equally vast number of retail sales outlets. This process was of course a gradual one that occured throughout the nineteenth century and before.[96] The overall tendency of this process, however, was to increase the dependence of the small master retailer on the wholesalers and manufacturers. Once more it was at the height of the

retailing revolution in the last decades of the nineteenth century that the activities of wholesalers and manufacturers were clearly focussed upon by the small master community.

As a result of organisational and technological change more and more goods were subjected to manufacturing processes. Neither was this solely confined to durable goods. In the grocery and provision trades a significant development was the tinned preservation of food. Such developments ensured the viability of large scale wholesaling in food products. In 1837 the firm of John Gillon and Company was established in Mitchell Street, Leith, for the preservation of provisions. By 1869 this Edinburgh firm was one of the largest of its kind in the country, its trade list containing over 500 varieties of preserved meats, soups, vegetables, fish, game, etc.[97] Preservation allowed firms in the food industry to develop like that of Chivers and Company, which in 1898 employed over 800 people in their fruit preserving factory, and farms.[98] Neither were these isolated examples. Such technology gave an impetus to wholesaling whether by the manufacturer or an independent. In Edinburgh, Leith, became a centre of wholesaling. One of the larger concerns was the firm of Aitken and Wright. Established in 1855, the firm was largely involved in the importation and wholesaling of flour, butter and oils, and was also engaged latterly in the century in the manufacture of margarine.[99] Another of the Leith firms in

the provisions trade was the firm of Forrest and Turnbull.[100] Wholesaling also opened up opportunities for retailers to branch out and expand their businesses. One such Edinburgh firm was that of Andrew Melrose who took charge of his first shop in 1812, and was later to become one of the largest importers and retailers of tea.[101]

The relationship between wholesalers, manufacturers and the petit bourgeois retailers was an important one. It essentially revolved around the issue of supply, but associated with this was a series of dependent relationships that were interlinked with credit mechanisms and price levels. These are discussed in greater depth elsewhere, and are left aside at this point. A central issue of concern for the small masters was their belief that they had sole rights to trade with the public. Insisting on strict lines of demarcation they openly criticised the vertical movement of wholesalers and manufacturers towards trading directly with the public. Not only was the practice said to be unfair but of equal concern was the question of the selling price. The small retailer, it was argued, was denied not only his custom, but also, his right to make a profit. There were those who called for a boycott of such firms.[102] Some firms, it was argued, were 'pretending to be wholesalers,' whilst at the same time trading with the public and charging similar prices to those asked of the small retailer.[103] Moreover, at a time when the retail trade was faced with enough competition

from the 'craze for co-operation', the last straw was to find that they were also confronted by some 'gigantic wholesale firm' entering the trade and forgetting the 'old adage about living and letting live'.[104]

The idea of the small masters that there was a morality in trade did not, and could not, square with the reality of the buying and selling system. Appeals to this end were bound to meet with deaf ears. Of equal concern to the small masters was the links said to exist between wholesalers, manufacturers and the stores. While wholesalers might profess to be on the side of the small men, they nonetheless, were content to supply the co-operative associations. This fact angered men who believed that without the many small retail concerns wholesalers themselves might cease to exist.[105]

The ability of wholesalers to combine in collusion against the interests of retailers was seen as particularly antagonistic to their interests. This was true in the case of chemists in Edinburgh who faced a wholesalers ring:

> It seems wholesalers in Edinburgh have combined and made a law unto themselves under penalty of £50, that no payment shall be accepted for patents sold at what are termed cash-prices after the 10th of each month, and until these goods are re-invoiced at a higher rate. To be reined up this sharply has had the effect of closing a few accounts, and what wonder? Retail Chemists cannot command payment of all their accounts . . . but should they by this summary method a compulsory sale of fittings, & c., might be the result.[106]

This highlights the control of the wholesalers over the retailers through the credit mechanism. A shortening, or curtailment of credit might have serious consequences for the individual and ultimately the wholesaler had the ability to foreclose if credit deadlines were not met. It was the case that wholesalers often preferred credit transactions because it tied the individual small retailer closer to him and helped prevent undue competition from other wholesalers. In this respect the Grocer, reported that 'the credit system is very largely indulged in in Edinburgh, the wholesale trade in some instances, preferring it to cash dealing.[107]

The conflict which existed between the retailer and the wholesaler also had its parallel in the relationship of small retailer to manufacturer, particularly over the issue of short weight and length. A correspondent to the Scotsman, complained of frequently receiving cloth that fell short of warranted lengths, and felt this to be one of the more important economic difficulties facing the small retailer.[108] Grocers complained of short weight when receiving orders.[109] Manufacturer's trading directly with the public was again a contentious issue.[110]

Adulteration of goods, short weights and lengths, were common sources of complaint made by the small retailers against the manufacturers. Though at first glance this appears rather petty, it reflects the economic pressure

on the small retailers where every penny was seen to count in the battle for survival. Moreover, the retailer being at the bottom of the chain of distribution was often the person to end up in court, if a complaint was made by a member of the public or a local authority inspector. This was despite the fact that he might have had no part in any fraud committed. The retailer, nonetheless, bore the brunt of the public wrath, and sometimes of course this was justified. In this respect G. K. Chesterton immortalised the grocer who:

> Sells us sands of Araby
> As sugar for cash down;
> He sweeps his shop and sells the dust
> The purest salt in town;
> He crams with tins of poisoned meat
> Poor subjects of the King.

CREDIT

It has been argued that the role of money was essential in oiling the capitalist system of production, and it should be added distribution. Money enabled the development of capitalism to proceed faster than it might otherwise have done. However, in the absence of available paper and coin, and the ability of the purchaser to pay on demand, credit assumed an importance all of its own. As a result credit became one of the most powerful instruments of the capitalist system. It allowed production

and distribution to be carried on at a faster rate of turnover. However, credit was to have serious consequences for the small masters, for while it quickened the pace of production and distribution, it was 'also a means to promote the downfall of small production and trade'.[111]

G. D. H. Cole was similarly to argue that small shopkeepers were tied more and more by the need for credit to the large scale producers and suppliers, as well as to the banks. Instead of independence, the picture is one of dependence with small masters subordinated to the control of large scale suppliers and finance capital. For the shopkeeper dependence was generally created through his reliance on credit from the supplier, and towards the end of the century the manufacturer who exercised control through the growth of proprietary articles.[112]

It is difficult, by the very nature of business transactions, to assess with any certainty, what proportion of retailers existed on credit from suppliers or other sources. But from the numbers failing in trade, in particular those called before the bankruptcy courts, and from the attention devoted to the subject in the trade journals the numbers were probably substantial.[113] Certainly, the network of debts owed by bankrupts allows an appreciation of credit dependancy. Evidence to the Royal Commission of Labour questioned the law of hypothec itself which encouraged men to start business with little

or no capital, and thus placed a heavy reliance on credit. Success in business on this footing, it was argued, was virtually impossible. Wholesalers were singled out for dispensing stock credit all too readily. If stricter controls were introduced then the failures and the trauma might then be avoided.[114] However, any attempts at credit control would fly in the face of the needs of capitalism. It was and remained a fairly easy matter to start in business.[115] Whilst credit was a feature of retailing throughout the nineteenth century, it was towards the end of the century that it figured in the consciousness of a section of the retailing community.

The attack on credit giving came loudest from those already well established in trade. Clearly it was to the advantage of the established to prevent new entrants, and thus cut down on competition.[116] Yet there was an obvious paradox in that whilst retailers might disapprove of wholesalers giving credit many were engaged in the same process with their customers. The lax credit system was damaging to 'the respectable and fair-dealing retailers'.[117] For those entering credit deals with wholesale houses the Scottish Trader predicted that they would be 'tied down', in a struggle they could not hope to win.[118] In some trades wholesalers operated the 'dating forward' system where retailers were encouraged to accept goods, the payment for which would lie at a future date. Whilst no interest was due on the amount owing, the system was nonetheless attacked by a section of the retailing community.[119]

Given that large numbers of the retail petite bourgeoisie were dependent to a greater, or lesser, extent on credit dispensed by wholesalers and manufacturers, the answer to the credit question was seen less in its total abolition and more in curtailment and a shortening of the repayment period. The point was to prevent the commercial travellers pushing goods at the retailers and in the process strengthening the bonds of credit dependency.[120] One retail trade journal acknowledged that in reality many retailers merely lived off the capital of the wholesalers, and argued that there was a duty on its readers to pay cash for their goods and keep their businesses within their cash limits.[121] But how many could afford to do so without bringing failure on themselves? Few retailers were ready to take the path of the lemming.

Indeed, when wholesalers did attempt to shorten credit and impose restrictions an opposition emerged. This signified the uneasy position of many of the retailers and demonstrated their dependence on the supplier. As early as 1865 the Grocer, stated that it had received numerous letters opposing a decision by sugar wholesalers to shorten their credit period. In this instance the wholesalers wished to cut the repayment period from two months to one. Whilst the editors of the journal were, generally in favour of shorter credit terms, they nonetheless felt that cutting the time in half was too harsh.[122]

Credit was generally a necessity for the retail petite bourgeoisie. Many lived their existence trading on the capital of the wholesaler(s), tied firmly by a bond of credit from which there was virtually no escape. The notion of the independent retailer given this fact must be a guarded one. They might be free to choose this or that wholesaler, this or that manufacturer, but at the end of the day there were few who could escape their dependency on large capital. Independence was illusory, foreclosure a constant fact of life.[123]

PROPRIETARY ARTICLES AND PRICE CUTTING

The aim of manufacturers of retail goods has been to establish in the public mind the principle of product differentiation. Manufacturers have sought to get the public to believe that their product was superior in quality; or a good buy for the price. In the second half of the nineteenth century when the co-operative, and department, stores, and multiple retailing concerns were threatening the small masters, the growth of proprietary or branded goods added another dimension to the struggle by the petite bourgeoisie against large capital. Not only did the proprietary articles increase the severity of retail competition, but they also witnessed the introduction of mechanisms of exploitation which had as a rule previously not existed.[124]

Manufacturers, generally, by the use of advertising were enabled to gain public demand for their product. For the small retailer branded goods had certain advantages; they usually came pre-packed and ready to sell; and they therefore required little or no skill in preparation for sale. As a result the range of articles that could be sold by any one retailer increased. However, at the same time branding and pre-packaging facilitated the entry of non-skilled men into retailing, a process that met opposition from those who had served apprenticeships in retailing. Yet, perhaps of greatest concern for the small masters was the association of branded goods with fixed retail prices. There were two issues of concern here. Firstly, the extent to which the sale price was decreed by the manufacturer. Secondly, the extent to which fixed prices were then subjected to price cutting by the large stores and multiples.

Control of the price and sale function of goods was lost to interests outwith the control of the individual small retailer. In the event a struggle over the profits of the small masters was bound to develop. By reducing the profit levels of the small retailer the manufacturer and the wholesaler gained a larger proportion of the surplus product for themselves. The smaller the concern the more likely this relationship was one of subjection and quasi-exploitation. The return going to the manufacturer and wholesaler, and that going to the small master shopkeeper became a source of friction and ultimately a struggle

between the dominant interests of capital and those of the retail petite bourgeoisie. In short the income of the small masters was in large part determined by the dictates of capital.[125]

One of the earliest proprietary articles on a scale sufficient to arouse widespread concern was 'packet tea'. In 1869 grocers were warned to be on their guard for before long it would be sold on the streets in barrows.[126] The overall danger was 'to have the public asking for this or that tea company's goods'.[127] Once fixed prices for proprietary articles were established in the public eye a new form of subservience took root and grew as the number and extent of proprietary goods increased.

As an illustration of the growing concern of the petit bourgeois shopkeepers, an interesting piece of correspondence passed between Alexander Gray and Robert Douglas, partners in the firm of James Gray and Son, Ironmongers, George Street, Edinburgh.[128] The letter written by Gray to Douglas in 1883 was concerned thus:

> Dear Sir,
>
> . . . It is to be regretted, but I do not see that it is possible to get a profit out of Simplex . . . . It is matter for upset that something was not done sooner (2 years ago) before the Simplex got such a hold in the community . . . . It is like Bryant and Mays' matches. Known all the world over and sold without a penny of profit except to the makers, who get all the profits and who get the retailers <u>to distribute them for nothing</u>. In like manner W. H. & Co. get all the profit and those who distribute them get nothing.129

By the late 1880s the concern over the seemingly never-ending growth of proprietaries was widespread.[130] It is arguable that proprietaries constituted the greatest single threat to the economic fortunes of the small master retailers. The ability of the manufacturers and wholesalers to fix prices hit at the very roots of the businesses of the small men. They were denied the right to make what they themselves considered an adequate return on their small investment and labour. Small retailers' prospects were little short of a proletarian existence. Forces within capitalism, particularly the division of labour, diminished the role of the small shopkeeper to a mere link in the chain of distribution.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, in opposition to the economic relations fostered upon them and the growth of capitalist intervention in retailing, there emerged a number of retailer organisations. These organisations were a response to the collective will and the growth of conciousness amongst the petit bourgeois shopkeepers.[131]

The other aspect of the growth of proprietary goods was the extent to which they were partly responsible for increased price competition. The owners of proprietary brands were charged with being responsible for price cutting through their policy of giving discount on large orders. Though price competition was not a new phenomenon,

as has been seen above, it clearly intensified and brought added pressure on the retail petite bourgeoisie with the growth of price cutting on branded goods. Before the advent of large-scale trading, competition proceeded on a more leisurely scale between the small retailers themselves. By 1862 the issue was openly discussed in the trade press. The Grocer, in an editorial, referred to the questionable practice originating a few years earlier whereby 'a most pernicious practice had extensively obtained in the grocery trade, which chiefly consisted in dishonest endeavours on the part of but too many members by the decoy offer of sugars at prime cost or even at an actual loss'. The 'honest part of the trade' was asked to repudiate practices that subverted 'fair and honest dealing'.[132]

The language of fairness and subversion says much concerning the belief of a section of the retail trade in regulated prices. It has a ring of the 'honourable' and 'dishonourable' about it. However, as the economist Alfred Marshall was to point out there was never one market in retailing, but many.[133] Once the principle of price differences was established, customers might then shop around. The public became 'more determined to reduce the tradesman's margin of profit to its narrowest possible dimensions'.[134]

It was the large concerns that were generally best able to indulge in price cutting; often on the basis of advantageous

discounts from the suppliers. The response of the small retailers in the first instance was again to infer that such practices were dishonest, and that cheapness of price was secured only by short weight and goods of doubtful quality.[135] In reality the tide of trade was with the price cutters, and, in particular, the large scale concerns, who relied on small profits and large turnovers. Moral appeals to the integrity of the public was soon realised to be a non-starter, and by 1887 an editorial in the Grocer called for unanimity and combined action to end the growing 'evil'. More specifically, it called upon manufacturers and retailers to join together to bring about some scheme of reform in price cutting practice.[136] The eventual result of this growing concern was the movement amongst retailers, and manufacturers, towards a policy of resale price maintenance.

Attempts to win the manufacturing interests to their cause was always going to be difficult for the retail petite bourgeoisie. Manufacturers did not necessarily feel that their success lay in appeasing the small masters. As Mr. Beecham of patent medicine fame outlined in 1898, four large cutting firms had in the last year purchased from him half a million boxes of his pills between them. Had he refused them supplies or attempted to restrict the conditions of selling, as the small retailers wished, he was confident that the half a million would have soon been one quarter of a million; and that the distributors would

have soon found a substitute. The volume of sales of the combined petit bourgeois retailers had little to offer the likes of Beecham's.[137]

The significance of the growth of proprietary articles was that it fundamentally altered economic relationships between the small master retailers and the manufacturers and suppliers of branded goods. Their independence was further eroded to make them little more than the surrogate employees of large concerns. The profit margins, and with it the life chances, of the small masters were dictated by a conglomerate of manufacturing capital. In addition price fixing in terms of a maximum price that could be charged intensified a price cutting war which gave the advantage to the large concerns in retailing.

COMPETITION BETWEEN SHOPKEEPERS

In his study of competition in retailing Ford argued that shopkeepers were not in competition with each other except 'in the sense that if a consumer buys any one article he has less money left for other things'. Moreover, he argued, 'their relation is not to one another, but to the manufacturing groups whose products they distribute'.[138] This view, however, is somewhat idealised. For in many retail trades there was competition between different

trades and within trades. With the growth of proprietary brands competition between the sectors of retailing intensified. The need to sell any goods that offered a return to the seller was fast becoming an accepted practice.

Competition between the small shopkeepers was one area of class division that helped nullify the groups overall consciousness of themselves as a class. By examining the competition between the petite bourgeoisie, it allows some understanding of factors that had a bearing on the ability of the retailers to combine and demonstrate, at whatever level, their opposition to the changes that threatened their economic and social position.

One way of coping with the intense pressure of small business life was to extend the type and variety of goods sold by the shopkeeper. In 1887, the Warehousemen and Drapers' Trade Journal, defended the right of the tradesmen to use all the advantages that capital and skill allowed in buying and selling in an effort to give him an easy superiority over his rivals.[139] Similarly a correspondent to another journal defended his right 'to sell what he can to his advantage'.[140] In like manner, an editorial in the Grocer, in 1886, advocated that its readers 'sell everything'.[141] This marked a reversal in the previous policy of the journal where it was seen to attack chemists for selling articles that 'properly belonged to the grocers' trade'. At this stage the plea was not to embark on

retaliatory measures but that each trade stick to their demarcated products.[142]

The growth of proprietary products in both the chemists' and grocers' trades intensified the potential for competition. Ostensibly the chemists were protected from competition of this kind by the Pharmacy Act of 1868. But this legislation had not taken account of proprietary medicines, which appeared to be safe whether sold by chemists or not.[143] The chemists were far from satisfied and J. R. Hill of the Edinburgh and District Chemists' Trade Association in an address to the association, summed up the view of the chemists when he argued that the dispensing of medicine was 'still open to Tom, Dick and Harry, to dispense, provided they stopped short of scheduled poisons.'[144] One chemist attempted to put everything in perspective with the answer that competition should be met with competition. In essence this reflected the developments that did take place:

> Sir,
>
> . . . The people are bound to see that a proprietary article widely advertised, is just the same whether bought at a grocer's or a chemist's, and this is all they do see. They know nothing about the Pharmacy Act and the illegal position of the grocer . . . . There is hardly a development of the drug trade into which grocers' have not obtrused themselves . . . . The best way to accomplish this is undoubtedly for chemists to retaliate by going in for grocers' goods'.145

Competition both within and between traders was just as contentious, if not more so, as the threats imposed by the developments in large scale retailing. Established traders perceived themselves as the 'honourable' section of varying trades and opposed the 'dis-honourable' new-comers. The most visible sign of the chronic competition between the retailers was the constant instability of the trade as seen in the high turnover of traders.[146] Too many traders chasing too few customers was a perennial fact of life. The problems of shopkeepers in this period lay less in the competition from above and without, and more from within their own ranks.

In the period under discussion shopkeepers far from declining in number were seen to proliferate in late nineteenth century Edinburgh. Whilst some trades did decline absolutely this was more than compensated for in apparent opportunities in other trades. The increase in numbers brought its own problems. In one sense it was easier for this shopkeeping community to identify the competitive threat from the large scale concerns, the co-ops, department stores and multiple trading concerns, as the source of economic and social pressure, than it was to contemplate problems within the ranks themselves. With the benefit of hindsight the competitive threat was far from being singularly responsible for the problems encompassing the retailers. A far greater problem, though one barely recognised, was the growing dependence on wholesalers and

manufacturers. Shopkeepers in this period rapidly lost control of the price and sale function of an increasing number of commodities. They came more and more to rely on credit from suppliers to the extent that they were merely an extension of the trading capital of these. In effect they lived a 'proletaroid' existence.[147] Claims to independence were more illusory than real. But the claim to independence was based on a comparison with the working-class, and as long as the shopkeeper appeared to be his own boss such claims took on a reality. This, together with the long hours, the isolation of the work situation, the family as working unit, contributed to a sense of the individual alone in the harsh world. Many sought to turn this into ideology.

CHAPTER IV

SHOPKEEPERS AND ORGANISATION

In the previous chapter the process of change in retailing was described and its effects on retailers in Edinburgh illustrated. Retail distribution underwent a transformation which some historians have alluded to as a 'revolution'. As capitalism had gained increasing control over the means of production, the result of which was the process of accumulation becoming concentrated in manufacturing and merchant capital, it extended this control into distribution. The growth of large-scale retailing, and the growing power of manufacturers and wholesalers in both the market and their relationships with the small shopkeepers were evidence of this process; a process which had an initial climax in the last decades of the nineteenth century. As a result the petite bourgeoisie fell under the direct, and indirect, subordination of capital.[1]

It was seen that in absolute terms the numbers of petit bourgeois retailers, far from declining, actually increased in the period under discussion. But this growth in numbers obscured the chronic instability of the group. Whatever expansion there was in the growth of business amongst the

shopkeepers, this was accompanied by high turnover rates. In addition competition intensified and control of the price and sale function was increasingly taken over by agencies external to the control of the small shopkeeper. This was largely a process of indirect subordination to the dictates of, and exploitation by capital. Claims to independence were more illusory than real.

The response to developments by the shopkeepers was conditioned by their prevailing ideology, in which individualism played an all important part. Individualism did not prevent the need for organisation, and in the last decades of the nineteenth century a number of organisations emerged representing interests of the small shopkeepers. They were essentially defensive organisations. Based on trade grievances, rather than class interests.

The steps taken to organise, however tenuous these were, marked a growing awareness, or consciousness of shared problems. Yet this raises the important question of understanding the conceptual base of the level of this consciousness. Here a basic division is made between a 'trade' consciousness and a 'political' consciousness. The distinction is all the more clear when it is realised that the fundamental unit of organisation for the small master retailers revolved around each trade or around organisations that sought to unite the various trades in defence of common grievances.

As regards political action, put simply there was little. There was no politics of 'economic despair' as there was on the continent; no populist movements of small property as was occurring elsewhere in the period.[2] The essential period of populist politics in Britain occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the second half of the nineteenth century the interests of small property were absorbed in both Liberal and Tory parties.[3] As a consequence the petite bourgeoisie found it difficult to breakout of a stranglehold of economic liberalism, which itself had helped create, and which now threatened to eclipse small property. In all this the relationship of the shopkeepers to the state was all important.[4]

The chapter examines the outlook of the shopkeepers. It examines the responses of the shopkeepers to the attack on their economic and social standing, and looks at the attempts at organisation in Edinburgh in defence of those interests. Finally we return to the question of political mobilisation.

OUTLOOK

In nineteenth century Britain the idea of 'progress' was a dominant mode of thought, not only for the society as a

whole, but for the many individuals who formed a part of that Victorian world. Progress for the individual found its counterpart in success, and nowhere was the belief in success more fixed upon than in the ranks of the petite bourgeoisie. Indeed it was argued recently that success, far from being only an expression of Victorian optimism and progress, was a 'form of lower middle class utopian-ism, which subliminated the frustrated political ambition of the petit bourgeois radicals of the 1840s'.[5] This outlook was demonstrated above all in Samuel Smiles' Self-Help. Smiles was responsible for identifying and coalescing that spirit of success into a philosophy that stemmed, in part, from the world outlook of the small master seeking to establish roots in society; and hopefully to meet with success.

The small master was the bone and marrow of this outlook. Generally in business in a small way he believed that with sufficient application to enterprise the eternal ladder might be climbed. On the other hand, however, many must have been content to remain in business in a small way, witness Thomas Lipton's father who refused to open a second shop, fearing perhaps the pressure that such a venture might bring.[6] Success had its limits for those who had no ambition beyond escaping from the vagaries and uncer-tainty of paid employment. Wherever success lay for the small masters, whether at the top of the ladder, or the first few rungs it was a view that fused their outlook, and reinforced their individualist stance and position in society.

The role of the individual in making his own success was consistently to the fore in advice offered. In 1862 the Grocer stated the qualities required from young men entering the trade and singled out as most important 'perseverance'. Far more men failed in life for the want of this; than for any other reason.[7] A later volume argued that 'success always lies at the top of a hill', and that genious was no guarantee of getting there. In true Smilesiam fashion the author went on to say he 'could point to many men in our own time, and in our own line, who from poverty and obscurity, have risen to affluence and influence, and that not from any fortuitous circumstances, not from any lucky turn in the fickle wheel of fortune; they trusted not to circumstances they sought not fortune's favours, but by integrity energy and perseverance, have climbed step by step to their present position'.[8] Similarly, the Warehouseman and Drapers' Trade Journal, in 1876, assured its readers that 'the way to wealth . . . is as plain as the way to market'. It depended on two attributes 'industry and frugality'.[9]

This emphasis on the qualities of the individual reinforced ideas of economic liberalism. Solutions to problems were often seen as lying within the confines of the individual business. This prevented, in part, an appreciation of external economic pressures, that could bearly be solved by individuals alone. Shopkeepers were asked to guard against too easy credit giving, and tips were

given on how to make the best use of advertising.[10] Again the emphasis here is placed on individual business performance.

Underpinning much of the outlook of the small master retailers was the desire for success; at whatever level this might relate to. But, the constant shadow of success was failure. To understand the petite bourgeoisie calls for an appreciation of the ever present threat of failing. In a world dominated by the belief in progress and success, to have failed must have been as great a crime as the working classes' greatest crime, which as Thompson reminds us was 'to have been born without property'.[11] Neither could the small masters facing such an eventuality take comfort from journals which informed them that 'statisticians tell us that 98 per cent of all persons who embark in business on their own account fail at one point or another in their lives'.[12] In the likelihood of failure the pressure on the individual in his attempt to keep his head above water must have been intense. An ironmonger who signed himself 'agony' wrote of the:

> many times have I spent the whole afternoon in scraping together enough to cover and save our credit. Such a strain has become almost unbearable and one is drawn to do and dare anything under the pressure of such continued experience. Where I to describe all my feelings and experience my name "agony" is not too strong for my feelings . . . . If I fail in this, my consolation will be that I have done my best and my duty which I take as the noblest ideal of work.[13]

The over concentration on the successful in all areas of life, historians too have concentrated on the 'winners', should not lead us to ignore that failure in business had been the end to a small dream. Such dreams entailed many years of personal and family sacrifice. Life savings were lost. Yet such experiences did not stop the process of recruitment to the class. The reality was, however, that life's lottery would always land on the few and leave many in the wake of despair. Something of the experience can be drawn from the following letter:

> Sir, - Failures, which have been pretty numerous of late do not nearly so often occur from insufficiency of capital as from the impossibility of keeping the outgoings less than the incomings - in other words the profits not meeting the expenses. The entire trade, of this kingdom fail once in thirteen years! that is, one thirteenth fail every year . . . . The majority must submit to keep open late in the hope of picking up some crumbs of customers . . . . But then the trade has set its signet upon a shining ore, and called it gold, before whose image the grocer bows, and with blind feelings reverances the power which frequently grinds him to the dust of misery. There is some excuse for him in doing so. He finds his gains uncertain, continued fluctuations in trade, the absence of reliance in his pursuits, alternate joys of excessive prosperity and bitter miseries of disappointed ambitions render the lives of most grocers scenes of mere vanity and vexation of spirit. The oscillations of fortune which the bulk of grocers experience, in consequence of the alternate depression and elevation of trade, are attended with severe suffering. In days of prosperity they continue to fear adversity. They live in a constant struggle with fortune. The country exhibits the spectacle of tens of thousands of retailers and others boiling to the extremity of human endurance for a pittance. Warehouses and shops anxiously labouring for wealth, now gay in the fond hope that all their hopes and expectations will be realised, then sunk in despair by the plough - share of ruin having

> passed over them - ignorance and selfishness on every side, so that it is difficult to follow with a bold step the most obvious dictates of reason and justice by reason of narrow prejudices which obstruct the paths of improvement. What is the remedy?[14]

Proposed remedies were again more likely to concentrate on the individual, rather than removing the economic pressure from large capital. John Wilson of the Edinburgh Grocers' Association was typical of this approach. In a lecture to the association on 'Recent Failures in the Grocery Trade', he stressed that the trade recognise failure and its causes. Yet the solution offered related almost wholly to the individual's business performance, and included: a policy of strict economy; buying carefully; having a profit on everything sold; giving, and taking, short credit; incurring no bad debts; balancing the books regularly; and living within the means that the business could provide.[15]

Failure was the damoclesian sword hanging above the petite bourgeoisie. If the eventuality occurred, there were in general two outcomes. Firstly, it might entail the shutting up of shop, and coming to some private arrangement with creditors. Secondly, however, it could result in a bankruptcy hearing, and for many this could be a traumatic experience. Though it was possible to start in business again, for many it marked a return to wage labour, and for some, perhaps, a first encounter.

Success, failure and independence were expressed in the concern of the small master retailers over their status. In 1887 the Grocer defined the shopkeeper as a 'person who, at considerable risk, joins labour to capital and places both at the public service'.[16] This fact alone was not guaranteed to win esteem from others. Indeed the reverse was often felt to be true. One retailer was critical of the middle-class co-operators for sneering at his fellow traders 'as half-educated tradesmen'.[17] Images portrayed in contemporary literature were far from complementary. From George Elliot's 'parcel tying class' to the disdain felt by Percy Wooton in Diary of a Nobody for the retailers, there was little to enhance the reputation of the shopkeepers.

The result of such apparent lack of recognition was to instill a conscious belief in the need to improve their social standing. As early as 1862 an article in the Grocer: 'The Social Position of Grocers and How to Improve it,' was concerned that although individuals had respect, as a group in the social scale they could scarcely be defined. It was the concern of the writer that this needed remedying. He argued that improving their position in the social scale could best be accomplished by education, and in particular in the food sciences, which would free them from their reliance on chemists. Moreover, he called for greater organisation to raise the status and interests of the trade.[18]

The economic pressure of the latter decades increased status concern. A golden picture of the past, by way of contrasting the present, was presented in some circles. The role of the draper in the past was likened to that of the family doctor; his advice and services were highly valued and was not lightly changed or dismissed for another.[19] The concern over status only added to the instability and uncertainty of the group.

But there were those who sought to translate the marginal position of the shopkeepers, and indeed the petite bourgeoisie as a whole into a positive force. In doing so they sought to strengthen the class position of the small retailer. If the role of the small retailer was to continue to decline, it was confidently predicted that the community would suffer irreparable damage. The commercial men of the middle-class were depicted as the 'order-loving and law abiding class, which has in every crisis.been the backbone of the land and the principle security for life and property'. If society was to allow their demise only the few very rich and the many poor would remain. The latter having no regard for property would look askance on the rich. Neither, it was said, would they be content with their position in life, in the face of extreme luxury. This was a classic statement of the 'safety-valve' theme, from the pen of an ironmonger, who went on to argue that the role of the petite bourgeoisie stemmed far beyond their purely economic position. The 'trading class' was the

thread that held the very fabric of society together. In coming between rich and poor they provided a reference point to which the working-classes could aim for, and climb what appeared to be an easily accessible ladder. In typical fashion the statement ended with a defence of the individual retailer: 'God grant it may be very distant when private enterprise will be squelched, and that when it does come it is hoped that some wise statesman will be equal to the crises'.[20]

The capitulation here towards the great man was part testimony to the lack of overall commitment on behalf of the petite bourgeoisie to advance such sentiments on anything like a class movement. Such views continued to be those of the individual rather than the class.

The concern of the individual trades with the question of their status was a further barrier to solidarity. None were more conscious of protecting their trade status and economic position than the chemists. Chemists believed themselves to belong to the higher eschelons of the retailing community. Indeed they had some difficulty in deciding whether they were retailers, craftsmen or members of a profession. While they could not deny that 90 per cent of business was purely buying and selling, the other 10 per cent, comprising their scientific knowledge and training was sufficient to mark them off from the ordinary run of the mill shopkeeper. Accordingly, this part was to be

'jealously guarded'. Another chemist was struck by the fact that the so called leaders in pharmacy were unable to find a better name for their calling than that of a craft. To the man in the street such a term, it was argued, suggested employment as a tailor or a shoemaker. This was not acceptable, they were professional men, and as such must insist on having their position respected by the outside world. In addition they themselves had to live up to that title.[21]

In the world of status and social position the distinction between manager and independent owner however tenuous, was a real issue for concern. Mr. Jesse Boot of the large scale firm of chemists, was singled out as a false friend to the small chemist. His advice, that they give up trading on their own account to work for him as managers and assistants, if taken would entail the sacrifice of the chemists' independence. Chemists were urged to remain their 'own master' safe from the threat of a 'month's notice'. This freedom from wage labour was to be valued, to be protected. There was, moreover, little hope of advancement by becoming an assistant on £100 or £200 per year. The notion of independence and its rewards was a narrow one for all that. It was an outlook neatly summed up by 'I get my weekly half-holiday, I do not work fourteen or fifteen hours a day, nor have I any Sunday duty, and I manage to sniff the briny once a year'.[22] It reflected a view of cautiousness and smallness of outlook within the petite bourgeoisie which Marx once spoke of as being narrower than the counter the shopkeeper served across.

The anxiety over a supposed declining status was also expressed in the question of training and ease of entry to some trades. It was argued, in some quarters, that men with little or no training could pass themselves off as tradesmen, they were responsible for the high turnover and as a consequence the declining status of the shopkeeper.[23] By the end of the century apprenticeship in many retail trades was on the wain. James Aubrey Rees, a spokesman for the grocers, in evidence before the Royal Commission on Labour declared 'that there is no system of apprenticeship and indentures are entirely unknown'.[24]

This element of de-skilling was the result of pressures within the trades, rather than from any outside influences.

Boys and youths under the age of eighteen continued to be employed, but no longer under systems of apprenticeship. Once they gained a measure of proficiency it was argued they were used to replace senior and more qualified assistants. For the masters this was purely a cost saving exercise. Wages of youths in the last decade of the century varied between 12 shillings to 15 shillings, and those of qualified assistants around 24 shillings. By employing a youth a saving of 9 shillings could be effected. Rees was of the opinion that the retail trade was in consequence flooded with 'half-experienced and badly trained youths to the great detriment of the qualified assistant'.[25] Economic pressure on small traders and the corresponding

effect on the employment chances of trained assistants ensured that retailing became less attractive as a career prospect. The quality of recruits was said to have declined, and with this a further devaluation of the status of retailing.

The problem of recruitment was highlighted amongst the Edinburgh chemists in 1901. In a paper delivered to the Edinburgh and District Chemist's Trade Association on 'The Apprenticeship Difficulty', William Glass spoke of the problem of finding enough suitable boys to take up apprenticeships in the trade. Neither he said, was the problem one for chemists alone, but was widespread amongst other retail trades. Glass advocated that the chemists turn to using girls if the problem did not soon resolve itself. The employment of girls would in the circumstances of the day have done little to enhance the status of the trade.[26]

Despite calls for the need for technical education to raise the skill and status of the retail trades, little was accomplished in the period. In 1919 grocers were still calling for a system of technical education and a return to formal apprenticeship. Unless this happened men would continue to enter the retail trade 'with a minimum of knowledge of it or of general business training'.[27]

The individualism of the shopkeepers the motivation for success, the concern over the ever present threat of

failure, and their status anxiety, helped form an ideological hotchpotch which had at its centre notions of economic liberalism. Solutions to problems, as a result, were seen very often in terms of individual enterprise rather than the need to take a broader class view of the interests of small property.

SOLUTIONS?

There was no shortage of raised voices on problems confronting shopkeepers and the need to take some form of action. In 1864 a correspondent to the Grocer called for an end to apathy amongst his fellow traders. He argued that they should form a protection committee to secure the future of the trade, and to guard against the activities of the 'garotters and throttlers' in the wholesale trade.[28] This was an early attack on the power of wholesalers, but was in reality a lone voice.

In 1879 retailers were reminded not to neglect the important question of organisation to meet the threat from co-operative trading, and to prepare for the struggle which lay ahead. At the same time it was demanded that a government investigation be carried out into the entire workings of the Civil Service Co-operative Societies.[29] It must be realised that opposition was not directed at the stores as

such, but at the 'unfair' advantages they seemed to have over the shopkeepers. Non-payment of tax by the stores was an issue that was continually focussed upon. Indeed one fellow asked his colleagues to join together and form a powerful income-tax-league for the purpose of withholding their own taxes. Thus bringing pressure on Government to put an end to the unfair advantages of the stores.[30] If this was done shopkeepers were confident they could compete with the stores. Yet there was still the problem of price cutting which had to be solved at the point of supply. Wholesalers and manufacturers had to be persuaded to withhold supplies, unless selling prices were maintained. In this respect printed lists of firms willing to support such a policy had appeared in the Grocer from 1872. The intention was to forge a link between these suppliers and the small masters. The shopkeepers would give these suppliers their custom in return for the suppliers' continued and vigilant action against the stores.[31] In 1898, a similar policy was still being advocated. The Scottish Trader appealed to wholesalers to refrain from supplying the co-operative stores, and other price cutters.[32]

The theme that emerges again and again in the literature is that the individual should look to his own self help. This was one factor, this individualism, that acted as a barrier to an alternative view of events. There was still room for the individual to carry on his own fight. Shopkeepers were encouraged to 'fight these societies with

their own weapons' in particular to adopt cash trading.[33] If cash trading was adopted then shopkeepers could resort to cash buying from the wholesalers and manufacturers at discount prices, thus allowing them to compete on more favourable terms.[34] It was not long before retailers were being asked to extend credit as a way of keeping their customers tied to them. This once more emphasised the lack of certainty. There were those who spurned the need for organisation whatsoever, and predicted that the stores would be beaten if individuals paid close attention to business, adopted honest and above board dealing, and watched the fluctuations of the markets.[35] Moreover, if retailers would content themselves with smaller profits and provide a good customer service, then this was a better form of defence than 'petitioning parliament and all that sort of thing'.[36]

As an example to others the example of individual effort was singled out for special praise. Mr. D. B. Geekie informed the readership of the Grocer that Mr. Alexander Dickson, a grocer of the High Street, Edinburgh, was one of the first men to arouse himself against the stores. Dickson advertised some products at discount prices in an effort to attract customers away from the stores.[37] Yet, how far the individual could meet price cutting with price cutting depended on his willingness and ability to accept reduced profit margins. Moreover, such tactics were again tackling a symptom rather than the cause.

Beyond the response of action by the individual there were other forms of activity that called for co-operation, but fell short of actual formal organisation. There had already been calls for the boycott of suppliers of price cutters. Another form of boycott was aimed at members of co-operative societies and their families. The idea was that a register of names would be drawn up and used to discriminate against those members seeking employment with retailers agreeing to the scheme.[38] This was stark testimony to the bitterness of opposition felt by some shopkeepers.

Some of the small traders, particularly amongst the chemists and the grocers, were forthright in their opposition to the growth of proprietary articles, and the attendant problem of price cutting. Many were 'getting tired of selling things for nothing. They want a fair living profit and mean to have it'.[39] Individuals were encouraged to refuse to stock goods on which an adequate return was not received. Trade journals began publishing information on discount prices offered by large stores and multiples. The shopkeeper could then adjust his price accordingly, or take the bolder step of refusing to stock articles being sold at discount elsewhere. The idea being that this would pressurise the suppliers into discontinuing their supplies to the price cutters.[40]

The question of price cutting and the role of the manufacturer and wholesaler in the process was of crucial concern to the shopkeepers. However, the manufacturer, in particular had, of course, no divine allegiance to any section of the retailers. In an economic world dominated by competition, the manufacturer judged where best his interests lay. In order to maximise their profits manufacturing firms had to weigh the advantage of becoming involved in policies of resale price maintenance; and becoming the paternal protector of the small shopkeeper. Some manufacturers were prepared to adopt an individual stance on resale price maintenance. For example, in 1894, the firm of Elliman, Sons and Company, which had gained proprietary status for 'Elliman's Embrocation', had already embarked on a policy of resale price protection. However, and here was a central problem, they could do little without the total support of shopkeepers and wholesalers. Elliman's complained of the lack of support and singled out in particular the wholesalers. It was felt that a combination of manufacturers acting in concert could pressurise the wholesalers into following their recommendations.[41] But not all manufacturers were disposed to following such a policy. Moreover, wholesalers as a group were not without power themselves as a result of their link in the chain of distribution.

Many retailers looked to the success of resale price maintenance through a spirit of co-operation with the manufacturers.

Though others canvassed the need for more direct action. The form of action contemplated was again the boycott. Shopkeepers were asked to refrain from stocking articles which were available elsewhere at discount prices.[42] Moreover, proprietary articles could be put to the back of the shelf and sold only when explicitly asked for, and could also be substituted for by other products. It was argued that such steps were legitimate forms of protest against manufacturers who were content to use the services of thousands of small shops, yet were unwilling to come to their aid and adopt resale price maintenance.[43]

Action by the individual was a David and Goliath situation, with Goliath always the winner. Without the co-operation of shopkeepers and manufacturers it was certain that supplies would continue to reach the price cutters. Moreover, few found it possible to argue coherently against what was only in essence free trade. Once more the petite bourgeoisie was a victim of the ideology it embraced; and what was good for the goose was good for the gander.[44] Indeed, firms acting individually had met with little success. For example the firm of G. & G. Stern Limited, the owners of Pepsalia, a proprietary medicine, attempted in 1896 to enforce a fixed selling price for their article. In the country as a whole they estimated that only about one-fifth of the chemists signed their agreement by which they were given a small bonus for agreeing to sell at the recommended price. Of those signing, Stern's reckoned that only a

fifth of them appreciated the move, and many were found to be selling below the proposed price. Stern's reached the conclusion 'that a large majority of the trade' did not care for any anti-cutting arrangement at all.[45] Lack of commitment and a realisation of the extent of the problem appears to have been evident.

Combined buying schemes were mentioned as a possible solution to the problems faced by individuals. Acting in concert they might then secure similar discount to the large retailers. In 1879 the Grocer stated the need for small retailers, in whatever trade, to combine together their resources and work with a larger capital.[46] Ten years later the argument was still being advanced.[47] In 1896 chamists were asked to form a company where every chemist would be a shareholder. They could then enter the market and buy at the best possible prices for the members.[48] Given the state of retailer organisation and the practical difficulties involved such proposals were difficult to implement. However, in 1902, the Commercial Record, noted the existence of the Yorkshire Traders' Co-operative Buying Association. It had a membership of 135. The purpose of the association was to buy direct from the manufacturers, and it was estimated that as much as 15 per cent of costs could be saved in this way.[49] Nonetheless, there is little evidence that such schemes made any real headway. In spite of this the idea was still attractive to some. In 1919 the Fingerpost stated that

one of the chief weaknesses of the small grocer was his inability to buy as cheaply as the larger concern. Once more it can be seen that opposition is largely directed at the trading advantages of the large firms and not their existence as such. It naturally followed that they could not sell as cheaply without finding 'a living wage'. It was most important that 'the something extra that we pay as small buyers of proprietary goods, and the profit which presently goes into the wholesalers pocket on other things, must become ours it we are to combine to compete first-hand with buyers in the shape of co-op's, and companies'.[50]

Lying behind all solutions pro fered was the belief in the rights of the small shopkeeper to compete on favourable terms. There was little to suggest that there was an awareness of conflict between large and small property; only that some sections of large property were using 'unfair' trading practices against which shopkeepers found it difficult to compete. This situation was again evident in the organisations spawned by shopkeeper movements.

RETAIL ORGANISATION IN EDINBURGH

Far less attention has been paid by historians to the development organisation and objectives of employers' and

retailer associations, by comparison with say trade unions. Part of the explanation lies in the fact that their activities have usually been of a secret nature. In addition the survival of records for such organisations are marked by their paucity. In the place of extant records our knowledge of the operating of these organisations is largely gleamed from glimpses of activity that appeared from time to time in trade journals and newspapers.

This section deals with the development of retail organisations in nineteenth century Edinburgh. Though retail organisations were in evidence throughout the century the scope and direction of these organisations changed in response to the economic threat posed by the rise of the co-operative and department stores, the multiple trading concerns, the loss of control of the sale and price function to manufacturers and wholesalers, and lastly the effects of price cutting. The development or organisation was in part evidence of a growing consciousness amongst the retail petite bourgeoisie. Organisation developed on two levels, the local and national. The attempt to organise at national level was clear evidence of a heightened awareness of the need to combine in pursuit of common interests. Yet there is a danger in too easy a reliance on information culled from the organised retail petite bourgeoisie, and assuming that this was then the normative role of the retailers as a whole. How far those who did organise spoke for the rest of the small shopkeepers cannot

be answered. What can be said is that attempts at organisation met ultimately without any immediate success.

There was basically two types of retail organisations, which aimed at uniting the trades. Firstly, there were those structured around the common interests of individual retail trades. Secondly, there were those organisations that sought to cross the barriers of trade demarcations seeking to unite small masters from all trades in a common aim. Though there is little evidence on membership it is fairly obvious that the organisations in Edinburgh were representative of the interests of the retail petite bourgeoisie.

As stated previously it is important for analysis to explain at what level this awareness, or consciousness, took shape and form. It is argued that this awareness amounted to what will be termed a trade or trades consciousness. Organisation was based around economic grievances and trade demands. There was little development towards a political consciousness, no attempt at restructuring society in the interests of the small men beyond that of having society stand still. The petit bourgeois retailers were on the whole conservative in their resistance to change. There was no attempt to overthrow the existing society. But merely the wish to be allowed to make what was considered a fair and honest living, safe from the pressures of capitalism.

The move towards mobilisation on a national level was a condition of the need to challenge the threat of large capital in the last decades of the century. For previously the needs of the trades could be met by organisation at the local level. This reflected the pre-industrial nature of much of nineteenth century retailing.[51] It is organisation at the local level that is of concern here. From the available evidence there is little to suggest organisation on a wide scale for much of the nineteenth century. Where organisation did take place it was likely to be of a fleeting and transitory nature. In this respect Edinburgh was the same as elsewhere.[52] Wine and spirit dealers were an example of this. In Edinburgh they came together at times to oppose and challenge temperance legislation. This happened in 1836,[53] and 1849.[54] It was probably not until 1880 that there was anything resembling a permanent organisation at the local level.[55] These retailers responded to the state when it threatened to pass legislation affecting their livelihood.

In only one sector of the retail trade was there an organisation of any permanence in Edinburgh in the first half of the century. This was the Edinburgh Booksellers Association. Indeed as Levy notes the booksellers were among the first organisations to develop elsewhere.[56] The association in Edinburgh was founded in 1793 and existed until 1852, when it then continued simply as a benefit society.[57] Its importance was that it must have acted as a guide to other

sectors of the retail trade. However, its reason for existence was largely to act as a cartel to prevent price cutting.[58] In addition the association aimed to keep the price of their product as low as possible to maintain demand, and to this end they petitioned Parliament in 1833 to abolish or reduce the tax on advertising.[59] The appeal to the state was to become a less common practice among the retail organisations. By 1852, the association had opted for free trade in books following the lead of the London booksellers.[60] With this decision the main reason for the associations existence had come to an end. It then functioned essentially as a benefit society well into the twentieth century. The existence of such a scheme was a sign of the insecurity that existed for many members. It was a self help scheme designed to provide for the future welfare of themselves and their families, by investing in small property and buying shares. With the economic interests of the members no longer to the fore, the association nonetheless did continue to promote social gatherings and to maintain a sense of belonging in an otherwise isolated existence.[61]

Free trade in books in the city lasted a little over twenty years. In 1877 the Printing Times, announced that a small revolution was underway in the city. A series of meetings took place to consider reducing the amount of discount. It was agreed that discount be fixed at 2d in the shilling, and no more.[62] In the same period a new organisation of

the booksellers had emerged. This was the Edinburgh Booksellers and Stationers Literary Association. Though more concerned with socialising associations of this type acted as proto-retail trade associations where problems of the trade would be discussed. This particular association was open to both masters and assistants. As a result the masters could exercise a greater control over the values of their workforce. The annual meeting of 1874 was described as being of the 'social, light liquor kind which presented no stronger a beverage than tea to the members of the association and their lady friends; and the entertainment offered was capital, music songs, and a few words of sensible counsel, to the young men from two employers'. It was a familiar format of these soirees, a meal followed by a programme of entertainment, and then the lecture generally of the self-help outlook and preaching the politics of incorporation between master and assistant.[64]

The example of the booksellers was taken up by other trades in Edinburgh. Yet again, however, organisation was fleeting and transitory. In 1860 there was an Edinburgh Ironmongers' Association with forty-six members.[65] What became of it remains a mystery. Similarly in 1874 there was a Grocers' Association active in the city, which revolved around a series of lectures on aspects of the trade.[66] But by 1906, at least one grocer, was bemoaning the lack of an organisation in the city. Associations that were in existence he argued were 'merchants' associations',

confined to no specific trade. The call for an organisation devoted to a particular trade concern reflected not only the belief in the need to organise at this level, but, more important, was evidence of an outlook that militated against closer co-operation between the retail trades.[67]

The reference to the merchants' associations may have referred to the recent attempt by wholesalers in Edinburgh to organise. In 1878 a meeting was held in Darling's Rooms, Waterloo Place, as a result the Edinburgh Wholesale Merchants' Association was formed. The general aims were, firstly, to cultivate a mutual understanding amongst members of the association. Secondly, to co-operate in determining the length and terms of credit. Thirdly, to secure united action in all cases of insolvency. Finally, to combine in opposing low settlements in cases of bankruptcy.[68] As seen previously credit was an important area of struggle between the retail petite bourgeoisie and the large wholesalers. For the wholesalers to have taken the lead in Edinburgh in organising around the issue of credit was part testimony to the defensive nature of the shopkeepers struggle. They were constantly reacting to problems rather than having a strategy or policy of attack.

There can be little doubt that in the last decades of the nineteenth century the retail petite bourgeoisie in Edinburgh intensified their efforts to organise in response to the retailing revolution. But before examining this process there was one other area of organisation that in part

served as a reminder of what retailers might achieve. These were the organisations designed to combat the growing problem of defaulters. Their importance lay not no much in what they achieved, but in that they were able to overcome, to an extent, the problem of trade sectionalism. They united the capitalist, the small shopkeeper, and the small master, against the fraudulent debtor.

Organisations for the recovery of debt first appeared around mid-century. In 1852 the Scottish Trade Protection Society was founded. The annual subscription was one guinea in 1858. For this, a member received a monthly circular carrying the names of credit risks and other information on bankrupts. Members also received the services of a 'Debt Department' which attempted to collect outstanding debts. In addition an information service on the credit standing of individuals and firms was available.[69] The society remained in existence throughout the nineteenth century.[70] Another organisation was the shopkeepers Mutual Protection Agency. Membership was confined to retailers and in 1887 it had premises in both Glasgow and Edinburgh. The agency issued an information sheet, the Quarterly Decree Register, which for Edinburgh alone carried the names of 600 firms and individuals said to be credit risks.[71] A number of other organisations also existed including the Commercial and Legal Debt Collecting Agency which claimed the support of over two hundred retailers in Edinburgh in 1855.[72]

In 1849 there was a weekly publication in Edinburgh; the Trade Protection Circular and Mercantile Remembrancer, which again carried information on bad risks subscription was two guineas, and by 1853 this was reduced to half-a-guinea.[73]

The existence of such organisations and their appeal highlighted the importance of debt. A series of bad debts left unpaid could be the deciding factor in whether a small master was able to remain in business or not. But more important such organisations served as a guide to the fledgling movement amongst retailers towards organisation. So that by the last decade of the century a number of trade organisations were beginning to make their mark in the city.

One of the most active of the retailer associations at this time was that formed by the chemists. The Edinburgh and District Chemists' Trade Association was in the forefront of campaigns to defend chemists in the city, In 1894 it set up a committee to investigate claims that grocers were selling 'soluble blue', which contained a poison, oxalic acid and legally could be sold only by chemists. It was reported that the practice was general throughout the city and it was agreed to inform those responsible for upholding the law.[74] The outcome of this step could only lead to the alienation of the grocers from the possibility of co-operation with the chemists on the wider issues affecting the retail petite bourgeoisie.

Practical solutions to immediate problems were suggested at meetings of the association. In 1897 it was recommended that an exchange be set up for 'out-of-the-way-articles', whereby the small quantities of stock sometimes required could be had, thus saving on buying a needlessly large quantity from the wholesaler. This received the unanimous support of the members present.[75] Whilst practical steps could be taken to solve organisational problems, the wider issue of the future of the trade, and in particular the effect of proprietary articles, remained. Neither was this fact ignored. In 1894 the association took exception to brand advertising which sought to create the view that one product was better than any other.[76] Concern over the future was more directly expressed in a lecture to the association in 1897. George Sinclair in his talk, 'Progress in Pharmacy', stated that whereas ten years previously prescriptions for the products of the large manufacturing companies amounted to some 5 per cent, they now accounted for 20 per cent. If the present state of affairs was allowed to continue, he argued, chemists would soon be 'mere automatic machines for scraping off makers' labels and putting on their own'. Sinclair went further and argued that the chemists were under attack from two directions, from the price cutters and the owners of proprietary medicines.[77]

Yet in the same year the chairman of the Edinburgh Association was to state that 'the purpose of the association

was defence, not defiance. They did not throw down any challenge. They recognised the futility of attempts to save them from unfair competition'. In short they were more concerned in drawing attention to their plight than engaging in more direct forms of action.[78] However, the problems could not be ignored and by 1904 the association was discussing the propriety of embarking on a scheme of combined buying in an effort to compete with the price cutters. Yet such a step ran counter to the policy advocated by the recently formed Proprietary Articles Trade Association, to which many chemists and their organisations belonged. Moreover the envisaged savings were only of the order of 5 per cent and hardly worth the effort involved.[79]

The Edinburgh chemists established close and early links with the Proprietary Articles Trade Association. (P.A.T.A.). The association had been founded in 1895 by a chemist, William Glynn Jones. In 1896 a deputation from P.A.T.A. was received by the Edinburgh Chemists' Trade Association in Pharmaceutical Society House, 36 York Place. At that meeting a motion moved by a Peter Boa setting up a committee of the Edinburgh chemists to act with P.A.T.A. was unanimously agreed to.[80] As a result it was reported in 1899 that wholesalers in Edinburgh had agreed to supply all proprietary and patent medicines at a uniform discount of 15 per cent.[81] In 1906 the Edinburgh Chemists Association reaffirmed its support for P.A.T.A. and the policy of

resale price maintenance. In addition it welcomed the ongoing attempt to halt the supplies of the price cutting establishments.[82]

Amongst the trade organisations in Edinburgh there were those that concerned themselves less with the economic problems facing the retail community, and more with the education and socialisation of members of the trades, whether masters or assistants. Such organisations were a point of social contact for individuals engaged in similar work situations but denied the contact existing in larger working environments. One such organisation was the Edinburgh Chemists', Assistants', and Apprentices Association which held regular activities including lectures with titles such as, 'The Profession of Pharmacy' and 'The Profession of Pharmacy Reviewed from the aspect of an Employer'. These were intended to be educationally factual as well as instilling correct values among assistants and apprentices. Close association of this type between masters and assistants was calculated to promote co-operation between employer and employee.[83]

What evidence there is therefore, suggests that in Edinburgh there were a number of organisations organised on an individual trade basis. Some of these appeared to enjoy only a fleeting and transitory existence. Moreover, the organisation of retailers in single trade organisations helped prevent a realisation of the problems facing the retail

petite bourgeoisie as a whole. Individual trade status and competition between retailers only intensified the overall problem. The many competing ideas on which organisations were based complicated the issues still further. The co-operative movement, the large stores and multiples, the problems of proprietary articles were identified as separate issues calling for separate policies, and as a result separate organisations. Few identified the totality of the problems facing the retail petite bourgeoisie. The net result was a plethora of organisations each competing for the loyalty of the small shopkeepers. In circumstances such as this fragmentation and overlapping of effort was all too obvious.

There were two organisations that were important in Edinburgh in the last decade of the nineteenth century that exemplify the problem above. Both were national in character but had met with some success in the city. Firstly, P.A.T.A. which as seen previously had links with the chemists in the first instance; secondly, the Traders' Defence Association of Scotland (T.D.A.S.). Whereas P.A.T.A. was concerned with proprietary articles and the problem of price cutting, T.D.A.S. was almost exclusively concerned with opposing the co-operative stores to an almost paranoid extent. They nonetheless marked a significant step in the consciousness of the small shopkeepers. For membership was open to all trades. An awareness for co-operation and unified action was therefore evident

amongst sections of the retail petite bourgeoisie. Yet this awareness remained on the level of a trades consciousness, designed to overcome economic grievances. There was no belief in the need for some form of restructuring of society. Indeed this was never advocated in the late nineteenth century. If there was an ideology present it was in general against change, of cautious opposition against anything that might damage the ecomomic interests and social standing of the small masters.

T.D.A.S. was founded in 1888 and quickly gained the support of two newly formed trade journals the Scottish Trader, which commenced publication in 1897, and the Commercial Record begun in 1898. By the end of 1896 there was a branch of the association operating in Edinburgh. The first chairman was Alexander Peden. Peden had served his apprenticeship as a grocer in Leith. After working in London for eight years, learning the tea trade, he returned to Edinburgh and commenced business as a tea dealer. He later joined the firm of Messrs. James Aitken and Company, tea merchants. Peden saw nothing wrong or oppressive in the tactics pursued by the Defence Association. Tactics which included discrimination in employment, where members were encouraged to employ only non-co-operators. Neither did he distinguish between middle and working-class co-operative stores, he opposed and attacked both.[84]

The Edinburgh branch favoured some form of direct action to advance their case. At a meeting in June 1897 a motion carried by fifty-five votes to seventeen, committed the branch to compiling a list of wholesalers and suppliers who were opposed to the co-operators. Members would trade with these agencies, as long as they maintained their opposition, rather than give their custom to wholesalers who openly traded with the co-operative stores.[85] A list was drawn up and at the Annual General Meeting of the branch in October a resolution supporting the intention of the membership to trade only with those on the list was again passed.[86] Such tactics had a limited effect on the co-operative stores and their suppliers. The plan to bring pressure to bear on wholesalers to cease supplying the stores in the wake of a customer backlash from the small retailers, was largely ineffectual. Moreover, most of the co-operative stores had united to form their own wholesaling companies.

The problem of bridging individual trade interests remained. In an attempt to overcome the problem, the Annual Report of the Edinburgh Branch, for 1897, outlined that attempts were being made to set up trade committees to cater for the seperate trade interests. It was further evidence of a gulf, and the sectionalism that existed amongst the trades. The setting up of these trade committees was an attempt to attract new members to the association by providing an organisational structure which could advance

the individual interests of the trades as well as the general interests of all retailers against the co-operative stores. The number of members in the branch was reported to be 1,022, and of these 200 had joined in the previous year. On these figures the Defence Association could claim to speak for the retail petite bourgeoisie in Edinburgh.[97]

The language of the struggle between the membership and the co-operative stores frequently described it as a 'fight'. But it was a fight countenanced by a long protracted struggle with no knockout blows capable of being delivered. By 1898 it was argued that the trades in Edinburgh appeared to treat the stores mostly with silent contempt rather than action.[98]

Despite this, the Edinburgh branch continued its attack, even if this was not backed up by action. In November 1898 it attacked the manufacturers of proprietary articles for supplying the co-operative stores with products which they then proceeded to sell at minimum prices, and at the same time the stores allowed a dividend on the goods sold. The branch agreed that if the manufacturers of the articles concerned declined to take action to stop the practice, it would, in conjunction with other members of the association, take retaliatory action. The most likely form of action was to fix on one or more articles and urge the membership to boycott these, in an effort to exert pressure

on the manufacturers to adopt some policy of resale price maintenance.[89]

'Co-operation in Edinburgh', it was said 'is having too much of its own way', and the reason lay in the failure of retailers in the city to openly declare their hostility to the stores. But the retailers now faced a double edged problem for although many opposed the stores, they could not openly state this for fear of losing the customers they already had. Customers did not readily discriminate against different forms of trading. In Edinburgh as a result, 'the defence movement . . . languishes for want of sufficient trades to carry on the fight with any hope of success'.[90] Although, Edinburgh was singled out, it cannot be said that T.D.A.S. met with much more success elsewhere in Scotland.[91] After 1898, the Defence Association appears to have entered a period of decline in the city. In 1901 a new organisation had emerged, the Edinburgh Branch of the Traders' Alliance. From what is known of this organisation's existence it was more active in pursuing policies of resale price maintenance.[92] The attack on co-operative stores in the city was rekindled amongst the retail petite bourgeoisie when in 1906 the newly formed Edinburgh and Leith Branch of the Traders' Defence Association was constituted. In 1907 it held its first annual meeting, where it was reported that membership had reached over 1,300 with 40 associate members.[93]

In the period under discussion the retailers in Edinburgh made little impact. In one sense it showed the limitation of organisation at the local level in the face of a production and distribution system that was national and international in character. The pressure that could be brought at local level on wholesalers was not enough to force them to consider stopping trading with co-operative stores or to force manufacturers to insist on large stores following policies of resale price maintenance. Boycotts, without mass support, could achieve little. A case in point was the efforts of the Edinburgh Master Butchers' Association which in the early 1880s had attempted to boycott local meat wholesalers who supplied the St. Cuthbert Co-operative Society. But it was open to the society to trade with wholesalers outside the town, and was subsequently to be part of an organisation that had its own wholesaling function. In 1898 the Edinburgh butchers were again passing a resolution to the effect that:

> 'this meeting, thoroughly representative of the trade in Edinburgh, fully recognising the expressed object of co-operators - namely to eliminate the principle of individualism from our trade and commence - and with a view of conserving and furthering the interests of the trade, resolve that no retail flesher shall deal directly or indirectly with any co-operative society; nor with any meat company or salesmen, or with any auctioneer or livestock salesman, who deals directly or indirectly with any co-operative society'.[94]

The resolution was passed unanimously and a committee appointed to oversee its progress. A speaker from a

Glasgow deputation of butchers paid the Edinburgh men the compliment, 'the Edinburgh men don't speak much, but they act - They're all right'.[95] The resolution evoked the spirit of the small men, but when it came to practicalities there was little that could be achieved in the long run. Boycotts to be successful had to be prolonged, and national in their implementation.

Finally, in this section, it is worth noting that there was a level of organisation amongst the retail petite bourgeoisie on a district as opposed to the city level. In this respect organisation around a community may have had more relevance for a section of the small master shopkeepers. Here again, there was room for co-operation among traders from different parts of retailing. In 1888 for example there was an association in the Morningside district which met monthly. At its October meeting the following resolution was passed: 'that this association resolves to use its influence in the interests of traders to obtain from Government relief from assessments on business premises for local purposes'.[96] Shopkeepers were opposed to paying rates on both their houses and business premises when they considered themselves to be providing a local service to the community. Similarly, there was the Edinburgh South Side Merchants' Association, its annual meeting in 1897 was attended by twenty-five members.[97] Grocers and provision merchants in the West of the city met in 1898 to form the Edinburgh Western Districts'

Traders' Association. The main objects of the association were the mutual protection and assistance of members as traders, and to meet to discuss matters relevant to their general interests. However, the overall purpose was for the protection of the membership from bad credit risks. To this end a 'black-list', was circulated and a debt collector on a commission of 10 per cent on debts collected appointed.[98]

Such organisation at this level allowed individuals to be large fish in small ponds. Moreover, it reflected the lack of willingness on behalf of some shopkeepers to move beyond essentially local problems and issues to appreciation of the wider problem of capitalist domination of the distribution industry. Problems facing the shopkeepers were in essence national problems calling for national responses.

ORGANISATION AT NATIONAL LEVEL

Retailers' organisations at the national level marked a significant step in the development of consciousness. For there was a growing awareness of the inability of organisation at the local level in the second half of the nineteenth century to achieve the policies of the small master shopkeepers. Nevertheless, these national associations

rested on a plethora of local associations. The aim of the national organisation was to present a bargaining force to strengthen the power of the retail petite bourgeoisie and their allies, and ultimately to bring pressure to bear on Government, manufacturers and suppliers.

There were a number of organisations that had emerged in the last decades of the century, almost certainly in response to the economic and social pressures felt by the retail petite bourgeoisie. In one sense their actual number was a barrier to the possibility of success in a united movement of the small shopkeepers. Once more there was a tendency to organise on trade lines rather than across trades. Thus in 1891 the Federation of Grocers Associations was founded. Its overall concern was to limit the effects of competition, and to discuss measures in accordance with this aim.[99] In 1901 the Scottish Association of Master Bakers had a membership of 1700.[100] Again in Scotland there was a federation of tobacconists with branches in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and other towns.[101] Similarly, chemists in different localities in Britain had formed the Federation of Local Pharmaceutical Associations. The likelihood is that other retail trades were similarly organised.

Such organisations left few records. It was nonetheless possible to collect information, generally from the trade press, to create a picture of their activities. This was

done for T.D.A.S. and P.A.T.A. Both of which had a bearing on Edinburgh. The records of the Scottish Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Defence Association have survived. Here, the aim was to combat Government legislation against the 'drink interest', rather than mount attacks on proprietary articles or co-operative trading. This association had strong links with the trade in Edinburgh and is therefore important.

As noted T.D.A.S. was founded in 1888 and assumed a vanguard opposition to co-operative trading. They argued that such trading was unfair. Though on what grounds was not usually specified. After an uneasy start the association had a substantial membership by the mid-1890s. The stated aims were firstly to inform the public of the injurious effects of co-operative and civil service stores on the trade of the country, secondly, to bring before the legislature, by legitimate means, the unjust burden which traders had to bear in comparison to the stores. Thirdly, to urge members to adopt the cash system of business. Fourthly, to canvas for the employment of those, and to trade with firms who were professed non co-operators. Finally, it existed to offer legal advice and special defence to members in matters relating to trade.[102]

The second annual conference of the Traders' Defence Association was held in 1897. At the conference a resolution moved by Alexander Peden, Chairman of the Edinburgh

branch was passed: 'That this conference calls upon all retail members to use every endeavour to have the wholesale firms they deal with signed into the next list of manufacturers and wholesale merchants acting on the policy of non-employment of co-operative labour'. Such tactics had all the subtlety of a witch hunt and were designed to frighten the co-operative members from withdrawing from the societies, on fear of losing their jobs. What success such tactics had is doubtful? They certainly did not prevent the societies from continuing to grow and develop. It was, however, a sign of the intensity of feeling and opposition felt by the small shopkeepers. At the same conference Mr. Robert Mowat, the President, drew what was to become a common analogy that co-operation was next to socialism, and if the retail petite bourgeoisie were to preserve themselves from this double threat, they had to unite and free themselves from the petty self interest that characterised many.[103]

Every chance to attack the idea of co-operation was seized upon. In 1895 the directors of the association reported that they had been successful in their opposition to the teaching of the supposed benefits of the co-operative societies in schools in Scotland. They were particularly successful in having chapters, which they considered misleading and objectionable removed from the school text book; the Laws of Everyday Life.[104] Such attempts at censorship show that the association was not without

influence. The influence of T.D.A.S. was given a boost with the publication of both the Scottish Trader and the Commercial Record. The two journals reported widely on its activities. Indeed both journals claimed at different points to be the official organ of T.D.A.S. The journals were themselves a focus of organisation advocating policy and seeking to give direction. The promoters of the Scottish Trader felt there was a 'great need' for a paper to 'champion the rights and attend to the interests of individual traders in connection with the leading enterprises of the country.' It was, the editors argued, the recognised organ of the allied trades of Scotland in the campaign against the co-operative movement. Moreover, it claimed that it would address itself to the interests of grocers, provision merchants, bakers, confectioners, boot and shoemakers, drapers, dairymen, butchers, cabinetmakers, ironmongers etc. In otherwords it aimed at a mass movement of the retail petite bourgeoisie.[105]

Through the aegis of the journals, and its organisational structure, T.D.A.S. operated on a national level to both co-ordinate and direct the local organisations. The greater part of its activity seems to have been concentrated on persuading and pressurising, manufacturers and wholesale suppliers to add their names to the associations list of firms who were professed non-co-operators. Members were then encouraged to trade only with those firms appearing on the

list. In 1898 the list was said to comprise over 600 firms.[106] The tone of the journals left one in no doubt as to the antipathy of a section of the shopkeepers. The Defence Association, claimed the Commercial Record, had done noble work in making plain the facts and figures of the importance, and honest dealing, of private traders against the 'co-operative agitors', and their 'paid agents' who heaped 'calumnies and misrepresentations upon the heads of private traders'.[107]

Though little is known of the activities of T.D.A.S., beyond that appearing in the press, they did realise the value of political pressure. Amongst their aims they advocated the direct representation of traders' interests on local boards, including the school boards, municipal councils, and in Parliament.[108] In addition the association acted as a political pressure group and forwarded complaints, generally on co-operatism, to Government departments.[109]

Despite early succsss in securing a fairly large membership, by the late 1890s doubts were beginning to be felt over the ability to bring lasting success, by delivering a knock-out blow to the co-operative societies. Indeed, the co-operative movement appeared to be going from strength to strength. The Commercial Record, argued that the mass of retailers were indifferent, when it came to mounting a practical effort in support of the trades. T.D.A.S.

then proceeded to go into a gradual but imperceptible decline. The organisers noted the lack of support amongst retailers when it came to practical effort. Such effort generally took the form of a boycott. With the failure of this tactic, the movement ultimately failed to pressurise large capital into taking effective action against the co-operative stores. Similarly, it failed to win the necessary public support to ensure success. Moreover T.D.A.S. identified the retailers problems by almost exclusive reference to the co-operative stores. But retailers were asked to support other organisations which had identified other problems. The end result was that opposition was spread all too thinly amongst a number of competing organisations.

In the previous chapter it was noted that Jeffreys, in his study of the retail industry, suggests that the competitive threat from the co-operative stores in this period was fairly minimal. If this is the case then the attack by T.D.A.S. may have been the result of psychological anxiety rather than economic necessity. The co-ops were an easily identified target. Moreover the policy of co-operation, and its identification with socialism, was an anathema to the individualised and independent ideology of the retail petite bourgeoisie. This said, however, there was economic pressure, but it was more generalised and arose not simply from the activity of the co-operative stores in the sales market. The mistake of T.D.A.S. was

to identify a symptom for a far wider disease that threatened, in a cancerous manner, to erode the economic and social status of the retail petite bourgeoisie. Competition came not just from the co-operative stores, but from the large multiples and department stores. In addition the growth of proprietary articles increased the likelihood of price competition still further. Again, the retail petite bourgeoisie were in competition with themselves. Moreover, the increasing conflict over credit and the struggle over profit margins were as great a threat as the activities of the co-ops; though this was not always recognised.

P.A.T.A. was another national organisation which had tangible links with the retail trade in Edinburgh, particularly amongst the chemists and grocers. In contrast to T.D.A.S. it identified the main problem of retailers stemming from price competition amongst the sellers of branded goods. The association was a direct response to the growth of proprietary articles and the consequent effect of this process on the erosion of independence and loss of income that faced the retail petite bourgeoisie. Once again organisation of this nature marked a growth in the consciousness of the retail petite bourgeoisie. The association has a long history, beginning in 1896 it existed well into the twentieth century.[110] Although essentially a movement of the small retailers it openly sought allies from manufacturing capital to join the

movement. But whereas in industrial associations the large manufacturers dominated proceedings, in organisations such as P.A.T.A. this was not the case.[111] They remained in essence movements of the retail petite bourgeoisie. Like T.D.A.S. membership of P.A.T.A. was open to all sections of the retail trade.

The initial attempts of P.A.T.A. to stem the effects of price competition was to establish a 'protected list'. For example in 1898 amongst the grocery trade a list of those manufacturers' articles that guaranteed a fixed profit of at least $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on each article sold was drawn up. Members were encouraged to stock only those articles on the list and to boycott products which did not.[112] The list was the prime weapon to ensure a fair renumeration for the labour and enterprise of the retailer. But to be successful the association required the active co-operation of manufacturers in their fight to establish the policy of resale price maintenance. In essence there were two points at issue. Firstly, that small retailers be allowed an adequate return on the sale of products. Secondly, that the large concerns be restricted in their policy of selling articles at discount prices. To this end P.A.T.A. entered into frequent negotiations with manufacturers and their representatives.

In 1898, the Commercial Record, reported on a negotiating conference held between the Retail Committee of the Grocers'

Proprietary Articles Trade Association, an offshoot of P.A.T.A., and the manufacturers of a number of branded goods. It argued, however, that despite such talks and the willingness of manufacturers to fix prices, little benefit would result if the same manufacturers continued to supply the co-ops. The co-ops, it was pointed out, traded on unequal terms, for even if they sold at the same price as the small men they would continue to give dividend, which in effect was a price reduction.[113] It was an example of the gulf in the aims of competing organisations.

As was established previously many of the large scale trading establishments refused to be bound by price agreements. Indeed their volume sales often gave them the upper hand in dealings with individual manufacturers. In many instances they could dictate terms which allowed them to make large profits not on the individual profit acruing from each article sold but on the total volume sales, by offering articles at discount prices. In turn, manufacturers weighed up the best possible conditions whereby they could maximise profits, and were not easily swayed by threats from what in reality was a minority of retailers who were members of P.A.T.A. The association got support only from manufacturers who felt that their economic interests lay in cultivating the co-operation of the retail petite bourgeoisie. Within the association, there was no effective enforcement measures against members or

non-members. The scheme was entirely voluntary and on this basis success was always limited.[114]

The association did meet with limited success through the operation of its voluntary resale price maintenance programme. Fixed prices, however, could only ease the pressure but not lift it completely. In 1905 it was felt that the association had grown in strength and even those who had been opposed to 'artificial pricing' would be reluctant 'to go back to the scramble for farthings which the trade in proprietary articles amounted to eight or ten years ago'.[115] In 1919, Mr. William Pennycook of Edinburgh, stated that the profit margin on proprietary goods had been generally speaking very satisfactory at 15 per cent to 20 per cent. At the same time, however, he singled out the decision of the firm of Nestle's to reduce the profit on a case of Full Cream Milk from 6s. per case to 5s. 8d.[116] The actual profit margin continued to be a source of conflict with the manufacturer having the upper hand.

Those establishments opposed to the policy of resale price maintenance were not slow to use the activities of P.A.T.A. to their own advantage. In 1896 the firm of Boots, the multiple trading firm of chemists, argued that their methods of trading were saving the public thousands of pounds each year. They described P.A.T.A. as a 'chemists' ring'. It amounted to a 'nice little plot, hatched for

the benefit of the retailer and the wholesaler middleman', Boot's intention was to discredit the association in the public eye. The firm feared little recrimination from the membership of the association and it was confident of getting all the supplies needed.[117] Continued supplies and the knowledge that the public would tend to buy in the cheapest markets were the trump cards of the large scale retailers. Against this, the retail petite bourgeoisie faced an uphill struggle.

However, by 1942 it was said of the various retail associations that:

> far from being handicapped by the great number of members, retail trade associations have evolved powerful machinery of non-competitive organisation. They enforce price-maintenance policy by trade practices of various kinds, they draw up rigid programmes to limit further access to the trade; in qualification tests, in registration and licensing, in fixing distance-limits, the policy of retail trade associations seems even to go farther than the measures envisaged by trusts and industrial combines.[118]

By this date associations aimed at price maintenance had made inroads. Ultimately it was in the interests of the manufacturers to assist small shopkeepers in their fight with large multiples, if for no other reason, than if the shopkeeper was to be eradicated from the retail scene, then there was a danger of trade passing into the hands of a few multiple shop companies. Manufacturers adopted

a policy of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. Price cutting continued and the rank and file retailers continued in their attempts to eradicate it. The struggle was by necessity a long and protracted one; the problem of sustaining the consciousness of the individual all the more difficult.

The Scottish Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Defence Association (S.W.S.B.T.D.A.) contrasts with the other two associations in two important ways. Firstly, from its inception it was dominated by the large brewing interests. Secondly, it saw its problems arising not from economic factors per se, but from the political action of national and local government. The association had a strong base in Edinburgh. Founded in 1880, its object was made clear at the first meeting, 'to thoroughly unite the whole spirit trade of Scotland for the purpose of protecting their interest during the progress of any Bill introduced in Parliament detrimental to the Spirit Trade'.[119] Moreover, the organisation identified what it called the 'Temperance Party' and sought to do everything in its power to combat the influence of this party.

Membership of the association included bourgeois interests, brewers, distillers and wholesalers, as well as the retail petite bourgeoisie of wine and spirit retailers. In 1894 the Licensed Grocers' Association amalgamated to form a considerable drink interest.[120] The association was a

clear example of an organisation dominated by large capital, where the conflict between the petite bourgeoisie and large capital was played down in order that a common front might be established. The national association S.W.S.B.T.D.A., grew out of a network of local organisations which in their composition resembled the parent body. In 1890 the President of the Edinburgh and Leith Wine, Spirit and Beer Trade Association was Mr. H. G. Younger head of one of the largest brewing firms in Edinburgh.[121] Another leading Edinburgh brewer, Thomas Usher, was vice-president of S.W.S.B.T.D.A. in its early years.[122]

S.W.S.B.T.D.A. opposed a variety of legislative measures in the period under discussion. For example in 1880 they opposed the Local Options Bill, which gave power to the inhabitants of a district to veto not only applications for licenses to trade, but also the renewal of existing licenses. In the same year the association opposed the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, with its proposals to raise the duty on spirits. In 1881 they opposed the Elections, (closing of Public Houses) Bill. The Licensing Laws (Scotland) Bill was opposed the following year. Similarly, in 1883 the Payment of Wages in Public Houses Prohibition Bill met with opposition. In that year the association also had cause to oppose the Police Pensions Bill, especially clause 14, which advocated that all fines payable under the licensing acts be paid into the

police constables' pension fund.[123] The drink trade was concerned that they should not become the scapegoat for many of the social problems existing in society, as the opposition would have it.

The association used the politics of pressure in an effort to have their views heard. The methods used were the petitioning of the legislatures; direct representation to Government ministers and other influential persons; the influencing and contesting of elections, both national and local; and the mobilisation of trade and public support. Opposition to such legislation above was nearly always accompanied with a petition outlining the particular grievances of the membership. Another form of petitioning was to circulate the Annual Report of the association among police superintendents, magistrates, M.P.'s, and other public officials.[124] The practice of direct representation of their views to Government ministers was also pursued. For example in 1886 a committee of the association was appointed to meet with the Secretary of State for Scotland. A list of eight points, summarising the aims and grievances of the membership, on the operation and functioning of the licensing system were drawn up by the committee for discussion with the Secretary of State.[125]

As regards the canvassing of elections, in 1892 the association instructed local branches to form election committees to advocate the recommendations contained in

the associations 'Scottish Manifesto'.[126] In November of the same year the chairman of the association argued that at the present time local government elections were a more important target and 'it was most desirable to get men most favourable to us elected. To this end a compaign plan was drawn up. In towns divided into wards local election committees were to ensure good representation on ward committees. There was no need to run their own candidates, if it could be established that existing candidates were favourable to the trade. Lastly they planned to set up a 'whip' of friends favourable to the trade whereby they hoped to 'particularly get audiences and canvas, and so we would reduce our opponents power to a minimum if not annihilate it'.[127]

The association pledged itself to no political party, although it did have a connection with and was a subscriber to the Liberty and Property Defence League. Founded in 1882 the Defence League aimed at becoming the parliamentary representative of business. Like S.W.S.B.T.D.A. it opposed parliamentary legislation; and claimed to have opposed 386 bills between 1882 and 1891. Both associations were natural allies and indeed the drink trade was substantially represented in the League. Its ideological position stemmed from 'an amalgam of laissez-faire economic ideas, the philosophic views of positivism, and the likely fear of democracy'.[128] The league assumed an important political role and functioned as a 'primitive

and very incomplete C.B.I.'[129] The Defence League was essentially a lobby for big business. To what extent its philosophy attracted petit bourgeois support is open to question. Certainly its appeal to individualism was attractive. However, it did not aim at recruiting a mass membership and certainly did not envisage its role as a new political party. If the retail petite bourgeoisie allied to the drinks interest gave it tacit support, and supported its anti-parliamentary legislation stand, the interests of other sections of the small shopkeepers ran counter to the ideas of free trade. For the rise of the Defence League co-incided with the demand of the retail petite bourgeoisie, as evinced by T.D.A.S. and P.A.T.A., not for less parliamentary legislation, but for more legislation to protect the weak sector of the retail trade from the very effects of free trade and competition. A substantial sector of the organised retail petite bourgeoisie had come to view the state's role as paternalist. Giving protection to the weak from the uncaring profit machines of big business.

S.W.S.B.T.D.A., then, gave no political support to either of the main political parties. Instead it recommended that the membership, before casting their votes, to consider carefully and keep in view the legitimate interests of the trade. Moreover, it urged the need to sink political proclivities and to vote when practicable only for those candidates of either party who recognised the

legitimate interests of the trade.[130] Candidates sympathetic to the drink interest were necessary to defeat the 'Temperance Party', and in 1885 the association's parliamentary agent was asked to draw up a list of queries to put to prospective candidates.[131] In 1893 the association stepped up its political activities by holding local meetings in Linlithgowshire at the parliamentary by-election there. A Captain Hope was returned, who later wrote to the association expressing his gratitude for the assistance he had received. In 1895 the membership of the Edinburgh and Leith Spirit and Beer Trade Defence Association were thanked for the energy they had displayed in securing the return of an M.P. favourable to the trade in the West Edinburgh election.[132] Members of the association itself stood for election on a drink interest ticket. In 1895 Mr. George Younger, the then President, and Mr. Harry George Younger, both of the Younger's brewery firm, stood as parliamentary candidates. Neither was elected but they regarded it as a worthwhile exercise in educating the public to their cause.[133]

From the first days of the association's existence attempts were made to mobilise the trade into a campaigning movement. One of the first decisions taken was to establish a fighting fund. To galvanise moral, meetings of the trade were held. In 1893 George Younger told a meeting of 250 delegates that the purpose 'was to strengthen trade organisation and to stir the whole trade into activity.'[134]

Attempts to mobilise public opinion were aimed at counteracting the 'propaganda' of the temperance advocates. Articles attacking the temperance view were circulated amongst the local branches. February 1897 provided a clear example of the battle for the public mind. Mr. Keith, reported on the one-sided and intemperate teaching of the school books written by the late Sir B. W. Richardson for the National Temperance Legislation; and also Health and Temperance by Dr. G. A. Pirie. On Mr. Keith's suggestion the secretary of the association was directed to hire a journalist to expose by newspaper articles the fallacious teaching of such books, and to pay him a sum not exceeding five guineas.[135]

S.W.B.T.D.A. was clear, then, that it was not a political movement outwith the structure of politics. Its sole purpose was to adopt the politics of pressure; and if possible to influence the decision making process. It is extremely difficult to measure or ascertain with any accuracy the success of the initiatives pursued by this, or other retail organisations. Yet the mere existence and activity of retail organisations in this period is clear evidence that all was not well with the greater body of shopkeepers. Yet it was the very number of these associations, each competing for members, and each identifying separate symptons for a more general malaise, that ensured that an appraisal of the exploitative nature of capitalism was not in general forthcoming. Ideological

arguments were confined to the right to trade, and not to call for an attack on large capital. Moreover, the transition from a trade consciousness to a more generalised political consciousness was never forthcoming.

POLITICAL MOBILISATION AND THE SHOPKEEPERS

Political mobilisation amongst shopkeepers in the latter decades of the nineteenth century was notable in three ways. Firstly, for the brevity of various organisational campaigns; secondly, for the number of specific, almost single issue, campaigns, none of which met with any lasting success; and finally, the lack of a distinct political ideology that was linked to the interests of the class. It is this third factor which concerns us here. Ultimately this revolves around the shopkeepers' conceptualisation, or in this case lack of conceptualisation, of the state.

The organisation, and levels of awareness within the retailers had developed around the needs of defence from 'unfair' competition. It was not capitalism, or indeed large capitalists that was under attack from shopkeepers; but specific forms of capitalist trading. Because of their indirect subordination to capital the petite bourgeoisie found it difficult to make any sense of their exploitative relationship with capital. Moreover, they

were encapsulated in an ideology of economic liberalism, that they themselves had helped create. When capitalism now threatened, they found it difficult to look to the state, not only, for protection, but to view the state as the means by which class action might secure their release from economic oppression. But political action based on their class interests was far from forthcoming. No longer was there in British politics an independent voice of small property. For that voice was quietly muffled by the gags of both the Liberal and Tory parties. Shopkeepers were politically active, and played an important part in politics at both local and national level. But such politics was not the politics of small property, but the politics of property, where the small was subservient to the large.[136]

Political organisation, when it did occur, was based on attempts to influence the political process. S.W.B.T.D.A. was an example of this. The association was prepared to organise at local and national level to ensure the success of their anti-temperance legislation campaign. However, there was nothing in the political programme that went beyond trade grievances. Government was to be influenced but not seriously challenged.

This remained true of the petit bourgeois shopkeepers, as a whole. In the second half of the century the state was increasingly viewed as a paternal institution. In the

1860s and early 1870s the only major issue on which retailers felt required to influence policy was on the question of taxation of consumer goods. In 1862, the Grocer was a little concerned that merchants, wholesalers, and retailers had not combined to bring a little 'gentle pressure' to bear on Mr. Gladstone to reduce taxation on the more important articles of consumption.[137] Similarly, it was argued some years later that Mr. Lowe's job was to protect trade and not to 'set over it a parcel of comparatively absolute petty rulers, who harass and annoy it with all kinds of quibbles and expenses'.[138] Small shopkeepers were already adopting views of economic liberalism, of free trade, and when the time came for protection of their interests it was an ideology they found hard to escape from.

By the turn of the century there was certainly an awareness of the power possessed by the state; though this was certainly not shared by all. It was said that 'there is a power behind the throne' and shopkeepers must ensure that 'our legislature will be compelled to enact laws making combines in this country an illegal thing, else if longer delayed we may in a short time find our trade, our laws, nay our very existence, in peril from the hydra-headed octopus combine'.[139] Yet the only action envisaged was that they take every opportunity to return men to Parliament, Town Councils and School Boards, who were prepared to uphold the interests of the small shopkeepers.[140] Candidates were

to be questioned as to their attitudes concerning the interests of shopkeepers, and in turn shopkeepers were encouraged to support only those who best represented their interests, irrespective of political allegiances.[141] However, not all retailers agreed with resorting to what was considered as undue influencing of the political process. For example, in Edinburgh, a meeting of retailers was divided over the issue of whether they should nominate candidates. Some declared that they were not an election body. In contrast, a Mr. Darling argued that as a body they paid something like one quarter of the entire taxation of the city, and in his view they were entitled to have a substantial say in deciding future policy.[142]

Trade journals used their columns in an attempt to influence elections. In connection with elections to the Town Council of Edinburgh in 1900, it was stated in one trade paper that Messrs. Waterson and Mallinson were not likely to ignore the interests of co-operation when these came to the fore in the business of the Council.[143] The message was not to vote for these two candidates.

Political attitudes could coalesce in other directions. This was particularly true of attacks on socialism. It was a short step to take for the small master retailers tc begin to identify co-operative trading with socialism. In 1886 letters to the Grocer were convinced that co-operative trading was part and parcel of the 'socialist

menace'.[144] In 1897, a correspondent to the Scottish Trader who signed himself 'Free Trader', likened co-operation to collectivism or socialism. Mr. Robert Wight, a produce merchant in Leith, gave a paper, 'The Scottish Trade Struggle' to his local association. In this he stated that he had begun to see, as others had before him, that it was not co-operative trading he was opposing, but the 'finger of socialism'. Moreover, the propaganda of the co-operators had branded him and his fellow traders, 'parasites' and 'thieves'. The intention, as Wight saw it, was to instill within the working classes a deep rooted hatred of middlemen.[145] In all this the individualism of the shopkeepers was to the fore. It was the individual versus the collectivists. For some the state was identified as part of that collective; interfering in the individual rights of free trade. The shopkeepers' struggle was given all the panoply of a moral and religious crusade. Co-operation was presented as grasping and greedy, and therefore anti-christian.[146] Moreover, it was anti-family and lacking in morality.

Political mobilisation based on the class interests of small property was never an issue that was contemplated in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. The petite bourgeoisie lost something of its independent political consciousness that had characterised the class in the first half of the nineteenth century. In adopting

ideas of economic liberalism, individualism, success, the petite bourgeoisie found it difficult to differentiate themselves from the business community as a whole. They in fact tended to view themselves as part of this community. Their opposition to large scale capital was based on 'unfair' trading advantages, these organisations possessed in the market, than to capital itself. Without a class identity based on distinct social and economic grievances they found it difficult to mobilise against the power base of large property; including the state.

This chapter and the one preceeding have examined the retail petite bourgeoisie against the background of economic and social change. The last decades of the nineteenth century were important. It was in these years that developments in retailing seemed to threaten the very existence of large numbers of shopkeepers. The growth of large scale retailing, the increase in the numbers of small shops, proprietary articles, credit, and loss of control of the price and sale function were creating bonds of dependence which eroded any claims to independence shopkeepers might have. Yet much of this was a result of indirect subordination to capital, and on the level of appearance the shopkeeper retained a nominal independence.

Shopkeeper awareness of their problems moved little beyond trade grievances. There was no political movement of the shopkeepers. Movements built around trade

grievances were fleeting. Concentrating on specific issues, there was no overall understanding of their relationship vis a vis large capital. Though there was an element of trade or trades consciousness this was never translated into action beyond the politics of a pressure group.

Shopkeepers lived and continued to do so on the margins between the wholesale and retail price of goods they sold. The greater role of both wholesalers and manufacturers in distribution saw the selling price of articles wrested from the control of the independent shopkeeper. As a group on the margin of capital and labour they continued to share certain characteristics and ideologies of both. In terms of economic circumstances the majority did not rise much above the level of skilled workers and the white collar workforce. Yet in outlook they shared many of the assumptions of the bourgeoisie. It was the continued hope of striking it lucky that sustained the many who opted to become shopkeepers. Recruitment to the stratum continued from those wishing to escape authority structures and the vagaries of paid employment. Chasing an illusive independence, many remained dazzled by the sight of the few lucky winners in life's lottery, but took no notice of the countless blank coupons.

Their independence, measured in small amounts of property or stock was, as Karl Kautsky put it, 'but a thin veil

calculated rather to conceal their dependence and the exploitation to which they are subjected'. A first gust of wind signalling an economic ressession was sufficient to carry off the veil.[147] The dividing line between self-employment and wage labour was a thinly disguised one for the majority of shopkeepers. Large capital used the shop-keepers to bear the costs of distribution. Independence was not to be explained from occupational titles but from the real relationships existing between them and large capital.

CHAPTER V

THE SURVIVAL OF SMALL MASTER PRODUCTION

Historians of the British experience during the nineteenth century have all too often concentrated on explaining the growth and development of the large units of enterprise; characteristically the factory. Such emphasis has obscured a more complex reality. For the roots of factory production were surrounded by a sub-soil of small master workshop production. If the choice of researchers has tended to concentrate on size, the reality of the industrial structure has not gone unnoticed. Writing in Nineteenth Century in 1888 Prince Peter Kropotkin argued that while the large factory was an undoubted fact, there were other branches of industry where "the petty trades hold their own position."[1] In 1913 Lloyd concluded that the great number of small workshops was the remarkable feature of modern industrialisation.[2] Grant noted that in 1897 it was estimated that 36,000 factories and workshops employed not more than five workers apiece - though this was of course, a mean figure.[3] Of London before the First World War Bowely argues that more than half the firms in London employed less than twenty persons.[4]

Later historians including Clapham, Dobb and Samuel noted the persistence and reproduction of small master production but undertook little detailed investigation. Thus Clapham wrote of the little difficulty proving the continued existence of the small producer up to 1850.[5] Dobb recognised that as late as 1870 'the immediate employer of many workers was not the large capitalist but the intermediate sub-contractor who was both an employee and in turn a small employer of labour.'[6] If indirectly, Samuel's work on the persistence, and indeed development, of hand based technology has added to our understanding of the relationship between technology, level of capitalisation, and the survival of small master production.[7] A further contribution of Samuel's work has been to demonstrate the more systematic and complex views of Marx on the development of the capitalist mode of production. Far from exagerating the importance of the factory Marx presents a picture of uneven development, where 'domestic industry,' 'manufacture' and 'machino-facture' continued side by side, often re-inforcing one another.[8] Where the large unit of enterprise replaced small master production, it did so in those industries undergoing technological change requiring large capital outlay, and even here the picture was more complex with small masters able to exploit different markets, and by 'sweating' to remain in competition with the larger unit. Additionally, the arrival of the large unit created in its wake a fertile sub-soil for the growth of small master opportunity, as new demands for skills and components arose.[9]

Because of this tendency towards uneven development it is difficult to generalise across trades and industries. Historical periodisation and understanding is best accomplished by analysing development within a specific trade or industry. Economists and Historians, however, have noted a number of factors making for the survival of small master production. Clay, in his Economics for the General Reader, argued that small production continued when:

> The material worked is not uniform in quality, or cannot be graded or treated in bulk, then the large-scale method of specialised processes and large output will not apply . . . . An article or process cannot be standardised unless there is a large trade. Now there are many articles and services for which the demand is not large, steady or uniform. There are many processes of manufacture which cannot be standardised. Here is the field for the small firm.[10]

Similarly, Fong stressed 'technique', 'organisation' and 'economic condition' in accounting for the persistence of the 'craftsman system' of production. Consumer demand for individual technique and artistic quality ensured the survival of many small craftsmen. The organisation of industry did not always have to end in the growth of the factory, and often the reverse might happen with an expansion of small master production. Economic condition particularly the orientation of the market or local demand could ensure that products could be produced more economically under conditions of small scale production.[11]

Samuel has argued that 'capitalist growth was rooted in a sub-soil of small scale enterprise.' The limitation of technological advance was a paramount condition in which hand craft technology continued to exist and develop. The increased demand for a variety of goods could not be met through or by the available technology. In situations like this the increase was met with a proliferation of small producers. Technological advance was uneven in its development, creating mechanisation and standardisation in some areas, but requiring an increase in small master production to overcome bottlenecks in production processes. Despite steam power and machinery, hand technology continued to prevail because of the irreplaceability of human skill, and a 'plentiful supply of drudges.' The abundant supply of human labour power, and an already present workshop structure in the control of small masters, could act as a delaying factor whereby the bourgeoisie were reluctant to invest, or direct funds for research, in cost saving fixed capital. In such circumstances, division of labour, improved tools and working practices, greater exploitation of labour through piecework and sweating, cheap and labour saving materials, all contributed to increasing output whilst at the same time leaving the workshop structure virtually intact under the control, if only nominal, of the small masters.[12] This delay towards mechanisation of many areas of the labour process in no small measure accounted for the persistence of small master production. Where mechanisation did occur the capital required to initiate production acted as a

barrier to journeymen becoming small masters and small masters hoping to be upwardly mobile in their own ranks. This was particularly demonstrated in the woolen and cotton industry in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[13]

Small master production thus continued to survive throughout the nineteenth century. In an attempt to generalise the persistence of small master production Crossick has produced a typology which deserves to be noted. Firstly, he saw the continuation of a small producer sector without substantial change in either technological or unit size. Secondly, where industrial development and technological change had occurred it had nonetheless created conditions anew in which small producers flourished in those areas of production. Finally, despite major increases in the scale of production in some industries, the small master could still live in the shadow of large-scale enterprise, and, moreover, small businesses were generated by such developments.[14] As Crossick is very much aware, the typology requires important qualifications. There is a tendency to equate economic development and technological change with the factory per se and to ignore changes in the nature of production at all levels. Although workshop production existed, for example, that does not mean that it was immune from organisation on capitalist lines. It may be that the typology needs to be more dynamic in equating the nature of change over time;

though it is difficult to visualise how that might be attempted, suffice to say at present that it has a static quality. The specific interest of this scheme is that it too demonstrates the continued persistence of the small master, despite the development of capitalism.

The development of sub-contracting was an important feature of organisation which subordinated the small masters to the bourgeoisie. As Hobsbawm argues 'Capitalism in its early stages expands, and to some extent operates, not so much by directly subordinating large bodies of workers to employers, but by sub-contracting exploitation and management.'[15] Following this Littler has identified two types of contracting 'internal' and 'external'. As a result the immediate employer of many workers was not the large capitalist, but an intermediate contractor, who had a contractual relationship with the 'over-arching' employer, and in turn employed labour himself. Sometimes the employer provided the fixed capital and, or, supplied the raw materials and much of the working capital, and controlled the finished product. The contractor was responsible for hiring and firing, and overseeing the work process. Generally he received a lump sum for completed work out of which he paid the wages of his men. His own income consisted of what remained after deducting wages and any fixed costs for capital and rent. Some contractors were, however, responsible for their own financial control and purchasing of materials. Certain advantageous accrued to the large capitalist. He could

shift part of the risk of operating onto the contractors. When using external sub-contractors he might save on rent, and the cost of running workshops. But more important the problem of managerial supervision was spread. As Littler is careful to point out in reference to the internal contractor, the extent of his autonomy 'varied among industries and over time such that no single concept can capture adequately all the traditional and hybrid situations.'[16]

That this was true of the internal contractor was more so when applied to the external sub-contractor. In general the petit bourgeois small master was more likely to be an external sub-contractor. Occasionally, as in the case of the building industry in Edinburgh the small master might operate in both these roles at different times. On the whole, however, the structure of the industries in Edinburgh appeared to preclude the internal contractor.[17] Sub-contract, or outwork, took no single form and varied between almost direct total subordination to large capital at one end to ordinary commercial relationships at the other.[18]

An important question is how far sub-contracting was operative in the nineteenth century. For in it lay the relationship of subordination of the small master to the large capitalist. Contemporary observation suggests that the system was indeed widespread throughout British

industry. D. F. Schloss in his Methods of Industrial Renumeration, published in 1898, concluded that 'sub-contract is a system so widely adopted throughout the length and breadth of British industry that any attempt to make here an exhaustive enumeration of the trades, in which it is met with, would be altogether impracticable.'[19] And again 'sub-contract, in fact, is practically ubiquitous.'[20] Small masters through a variety of agreements and associations were reliant on large capitalists, merchants, factors, and middlemen contractors.

If an analysis of economic and social relationships between the small master producers and the capitalist class is to be undertaken then firstly the nature of their capital must be examined. Marx identified three areas of capital at work in the transformation to the capitalist mode of production: Industrial, Merchant and Usurer (here termed finance). Industrial capital requires less explanation at this point in regard to the role played in the process of proletarianisation of once independent producers, and on the other hand the subordination of small master production. Indeed this has been well documented elsewhere.[21] What is less clear is the role played by Merchant and Finance capital in the process of subordination, and exploitation, of independent producers. In regard to the merchants and their relationship with the small masters a passage from Capital Vol. III deserves to be quoted for its explanatory value:

> Without revolutionising the mode of production, it only worsens the condition of the direct producers, turns them into mere wage workers and proletarians under conditions worse than those under the immediate control of capital, and appropriates their surplus-labour on the basis of the old mode of production. The same condition exists in some-what modified form in part of the London handicraft furniture industry. It is practised notably in the Tower Hamlets on a very large scale. The whole production is divided into very numerous separate branches of business independent of one another. One establishment makes only chairs, another only tables, a third only bureaux etc. But these establishments themselves are run more or less like handicrafts by a single minor master and a few journeymen. Nevertheless, production is too large to work directly for private persons. The buyers are the owners of furniture stores. On Saturdays the master visits them and sells his product, the transaction being closed with as much haggling as in a pawn shop over a loan. The masters depend on this weekly sale, if for no other reason than to be able to buy raw materials for the following week and to pay wages. Under these circumstances they are really only middlemen between the merchant and their own labourers. The merchant is the actual capitalist who pockets the lion's share of the surplus value. Almost the same applies in the transition to manufacture of branches formerly carried on as handicrafts or side lines to rural industries . . . the merchant turns the small masters into his middlemen, or buys directly from the independent producer leaving him nominally independent and his mode of production unchanged.[22]

Broadly speaking, it is possible to generalise across trades from this single dynamic. The important points to note, however, is the exploitative relationship between merchant and small producer involving the extraction of surplus value. Clearly as far as Marx was concerned the independence of the small master as a result of the intervention of merchant capital was purely 'nominal.'

In short he was independent in name only. Assuming at best the role of supervision of his workforce. The introduction of fixed prices, piece rates and sweating all served to highlight this process of subordination of the small master community. However, his nominal independence continued to be nonetheless real as far as he was concerned. The small master found it difficult to apply any concept of exploitation to himself, for 'he was unable to form consistent moral arguments based on any idea of exploitation of labour;' as long as he himself appeared to be an exploiter of labour.[23]

The other area in which capital might assume an overarching and exploitative relationship with small master production was through finance capital:

> Usurer's capital in the form whereby it indeed appropriates all of the surplus-labour of the direct producer, without altering the mode of production; whereby the ownership or possession by the producers of the conditions of labour - and small scale production corresponding to this - is its essential pre-requisite; whereby, in other words, capital does not directly subordinate labour to itself, and does not, therefore, confront it as industrial capital.[24]

Historically this form of capital undermined small peasant and small master production in certain trades. Surplus labour was appropriated even though the producer might appear independent. Moreover:

> Usurer's capital employs the method of exploitation characteristic of capital yet without the latter's mode of production. This condition also, repeats itself within bourgeois economy, in backward branches of industry or in those branches which resist the transition to the modern mode of production.[25]

The point to grasp is that just as the capitalist mode of production was not singularly dominant and, therefore, involved other forms of production, so too industrial capital was not dominant with capital being a composite of these historically defined parts. Each, whether industrial, merchant or finance, might act independently, often they were so interlinked that to make a division would obscure a more complex reality.

It should be stressed, therefore that small master producers had not simply industrial capital to fear, though the symbol of the factory often ensured that the industrial bourgeoisie was identified as a prime threat, but that they were under pressure on a number of fronts, from merchant as well as financial capital. All three forms of capital were a threat to the petit bourgeois producers. It is extremely difficult to demonstrate the role of financial institutions in relation to the small master, however, through the role of trade credit it can be demonstrated that financial capital played an important role in certain trades.

Marx had shown, therefore, that despite surface appearances the small master craftsman was in many cases dependant on the various sectors of capital. Independence was for many a title, they had to all intents and purposes been converted into an outside department of the factory, the manufactory or the warehouse."[26] Clearly, however, there was still room for small master producers to remain independant of capital, but it is argued that this rested with the few rather than the majority. The small master remained independent as long as his direct link was with the consumer. As Lloyd has argued in this respect:

> the true handicraft form prevails today only in trades which satisfy a restricted local demand as, for example, the jobbing and repair work undertaken by the small cobbler, tailor, and joiner, or in the trade of the small dairyman or baker, who is an independent producer and deals directly with the household.[27]

This is the starting point from which any discussion of economic independence must proceed. Indeed the very term independent tends to suggest a degree of economic well-being which might not necessarily correspond to the reality of the economic relationships between small masters and large capitalists. Economic independence for the small masters was conditional on the survival of the bespoke market; or in otherwords between the small masters and their direct customers. With the development of a larger market this relationship was gradually broken in the

respective areas of commodity production. As a consequence, small masters became dependent on capital in its various forms. As Safier was to point out they were independent of only in employer, and:

> in every other respect, their competitors, customers, the wholesaler, banker, landlord, etc. - dictated to the small businessman much as would an employer . . . (for) by limiting the amount of business he does, by influencing the prices he charges, by determining the margin of profit he shall retain for himself, or by granting or withholding credit, they make him quite as dependant economically as the person who works for others.[28]

Although the conclusions are derived from a study conducted in the 1950s, they are highly relevant to the economic position of small masters in the Victorian period.

Significant, therefore, is the economic reality of the position of small master producers and the limitations that must be placed on their claims to independence. Purchase of output by a merchant, the supply of raw materials in lieu of completed goods, are only two aspects of economic relationships which made the small master, whatever else might be argued, dependent on, and generally subordinate to, large capitalists. Small master firms were more often simply outlets, or satelites of large merchants, suppliers, and the factory.

Often the formalised structure of dependency revolved around sub-contract.[29] Within this structure small masters were tied via credit, supplies, and the final sale of the article to a larger employer, factor or merchant. There was no single type of sub-contract. Moreover, there was an obvious blurring between ordinary commercial transactions between two business units, and the situation where the relationship was nothing more than 'a modern putting-out system practiced between the large capitalists and small.'[30]

Small master production survived, and continued to reproduce itself in the nineteenth century. But it did so against a background of changing economic relationships and different dynamics in different industries. The composite parts of the capitalist class: industrialists, merchants and financiers, played an important role in the process of subordination and exploitation. Arising from the economic and social relationships between large capitalists and small masters, there is a need to re-evaluate the simplistic acceptance of the notion of the 'independent' small master. The concept needs to be redefined against a more concrete reality of subordination and dependence. At the same time, however, it is still important to stress that the small master remained free of actual wage labour. Continuing to appear as the immediate employer of labour power, he found it difficult to analyse his own relationship with the capitalist class.

The dynamic of development was different both in time and type for industries. The chapter now turns to an examination of industries that were important both in the structure of the economy of nineteenth century Edinburgh and illustrative of the survival of small master production in the city. Those industries examined are building, printing, tailoring, shoemaking and baking. Finally the question of small master organisation is examined.

BUILDING

The building industry in nineteenth century Britain was one of the most important sectors in the industrial economy. At the same time however it remained essentially localised in terms of the market, with few firms engaging in activity outwith local boundaries. The industry was, and remained, a haven for small master production and services. Price calculated that average figures for units of employment in the 1960s are directly comparable with figures from the 1851 census. In both periods 80 per cent of firms employed less than ten men.[31] Similarly, Burgess estimated that by 1924 the average building firm in Britain employed only 10.9 workers.[32] From the available evidence the situation in Edinburgh hardly differed in the nineteenth century with the typical unit in the building trades remaining small scale, and under the control of small masters.[33]

Overall in the industry the number of firms increased in Edinburgh from 332 in 1841 to 1105 in 1901.[34] Again a substantial number of those firms were small master.

In this section the purpose, as in others that follow, is not to present a history of the building industry, but rather to identify the fundamental changes occurring in the industry in general, and to explore the results of change on the small masters in particular. Small masters, far from being eliminated, continued to be the mainstay of the building industry. For individuals, however, building was a precarious existence.[35] It is argued that in the course of the nineteenth century fundamental change occurred in the industry. These changes were not, as was the case in other industries determined by technological development, but were the result of developments in organisation and the growth of the market. As a result small masters were increasingly placed in a subordinate role to large capital, middlemen contractors, and financial institutions.

Building was, and remained, an amorphous affair. Complex in structure, organisation and development, the industry in terms of change over time does not allow of simple periodisation. Within the industry there was a great variety of crafts - masons, joiners, carpenters, painters, glaziers, plumbers, paviors, slaters, bricklayers and tilers. From the end of the eighteenth century the term

'builder' emerged to denote an entrepreneur who organised building operations, and not merely a particular craft calling, designing and estimating as well as employing their own workforce.[36] With few exceptions in the period 1800 to 1850 the overall structure and organisation of the trade remained what it had been in the late middle-ages.[37] There was no 'industrial revolution' as compared with other trades but there was the beginnings of change in the organisational structure which had ongoing effects for the small masters.

The most significant development in the pre-1850 period was the emergence of large capitalist enterprise. Such development relied less on the monopoly of technology, because there was little significant change in this area requiring large amounts of fixed capital, and more on organisation which in turn could produce economies of scale. This type of enterprise, the best known of which was the firm of Thomas Cubitt, was able to exploit economies derived from having the various branches of industry under a single direction. Building for an unknown market was a feature of some large concerns. Early in the century Cubitt was involved in estate development, building in advance of customers which allowed him to sustain a large workforce on a permanent basis. Another important development was the growth of competitive tendering, especially with regard to public works contracts and other large buildings. These contracts became the preserve of the large

firm competing for the whole job, as a result there was the beginnings of a polarisation in the industry between the large and small firms.[38]

It would, however, be wrong to exaggerate the importance of such developments in this early period to the trade as a whole. Nonetheless, in Edinburgh Cubbitt's had a number of imitators. Large capitalistic enterprises were established in Edinburgh at least by 1851; though some public works appear to have been carried out by large firms earlier. In 1765, for example, William Mylne, Architect, contracted with the Magistrates of Edinburgh to build the North Bridge, which was executed at a cost of £28,000.[39] The 1851 census schedules recorded three firms employing over one hundred men, and another nine employed between fifty and one hundred men. One of the largest builders operating in the city at this time was Robert Smith who secured the contract to build the two art galleries that stand on the Mound.[40] The New Register House built between 1857 and 1860 cost in the region of £27,000.[41] Such contracts were almost certainly put to tender. This was true of the General Post Office, Waterloo Place, built in the early 1860s. Mr. George Roberts, builder, had a tender of £50,000 accepted by Her Majesty's Board of Works.[42] The small masters were excluded from this end of the market except is they were sub-contracted. Indeed sub-contracting was a significant development in the industry in this early part of the nineteenth century.

Organisationally the rise of the large enterprise was the most significant departure in the first half of the century. Yet this was confined to all but a few firms. What of the organisational structure of the trade in this period as a whole? In his study of the origins of the Victorian master builders Cooney categorised four types which can be noted: Type 1. Master Craftsmen, e.g. masons, bricklayers, carpenters, who worked in their own trades employing small amounts of labour; Type 2. Master craftsmen, constructing whole buildings, directly employing labour in their own trades but sub-contracting work to other small masters in different trades; Type 3. A builder, not himself a craftsman but perhaps an architect or merchant who would then sub-contract the building work to different masters from the trades; Type 4. Master builder, constructing complete buildings by employing his own permanent workforce from the various trades.[43] Underlying the building side were the many small firms engaged in the repair, alterations and jobbing sectors of the market, who only occasionally might resort to building a house, though many never did.[44] A small master of course might at different times in his life be involved in the jobbing end of the market or assume the function of Types 1, 2 and 4.

Beyond the jobbing and repair end of the building industry, builders large and small were to a very great extent dependent on finance capital, in whatever form, to provide

funding for building work.[45] This arose from the fact that a building was a particularly unique commodity distinguished by its expense and lasting qualities.[46] Moreover, the availability of funding or credit, was virtually a condition of the existence of small masters in the building end of the industry.

There were a number of ways in which building might commence. One of the most common at the turn of the eighteenth-century was to be commissioned by an individual to build a particular structure. A small master might either finance such a project himself, borrow money from some source, be allowed credit on materials by a merchant, or be given a sum of money by the individual to pay for materials as the work progressed. Such building was firmly dependent on the demands and wishes of individuals. In this sense such work was 'bespoke' in orientation. The other method of building, and an alternative to bespoke, was to build ahead of demand in anticipation of a market sale. Small masters could of course move between both types of building activity.

Building for a speculative market marked a significant development in the organisational structure of the industry in the period 1800 to 1850.[47] For the small masters the more immediate effect was to increase competition, leading to sweating and scamping of work. In addition it raised the issue of the finance, often substantial relative to

the small masters income, needed to begin and complete projects. Further it saw the small masters become more dependent on credit from the suppliers of building materials.

Speculative builders were generally craftsmen become entrepreneurs, although sometimes they might be suppliers of materials or building societies inheriting unfinished products in lieu of debts and forced to finish a venture.[48] Small speculative master builders appeared to have relied on local networks of private sources of finance built up over the years on the basis of personal knowledge and trust. For many at the lower end of the building market were unlikely to be seen as good credit risks by banks, building societies or insurance companies. The financing of small projects was more likely to come from the individual, or a group of masters sharing the profit on completion, the landlord, or a supplier of materials.[49]

The market for building was in the period under discussion a diverse one. As noted small masters were excluded from public contracts or large-scale projects, except when sub-contracted to do work. And here their status under sub-contract fell somewhere between that of a proletarian and that of an independent small master. The most important area of building for small masters was the housing sector. For convenience historians of housing and the building industry have split that market into middle-class housing, and working-class housing.[50] Within this broad definition there was a host of different

housing types which in Victorian society replicated hierarchical and status differences.

The working class housing market in the first half of the nineteenth century was almost certainly the mainstay of the small masters. This area of the market was the easiest to enter for self-promoted craftsmen becoming small masters. Once land had been acquired, either by buying or renting, materials might be had on credit, and a mortgage raised on a half completed property. Architects and drawings were largely unknown in working-class housing projects. The small masters built by experience and repetition of housing design. With the rise of the speculative structure competition increased. The realised profit was more likely to come from a mixture of 'sweating' the labour force, more difficult within well organised trades, and the alternative of sub-standard work either cheap materials or cheaper building methods e.g: not using proper foundations. The 'jerry builder' reviled in the public mind did little to enhance the status of the small master.[51]

In general, many small masters lacked the local reputation, financial standing and building expertise to work in the middle-class housing market. It seems reasonable to assume that only the more established small masters were in a position to undertake projects at this end of the market. Moreover, architects by mid-century were beginning to be used in the design and construction of the larger

middle-class housing project.[52] Work under their direction would be put to sub-contract.

By 1850, then, a number of developments had occurred in building which had an impact on economic relationships in the industry and in particular on the life chances of the small masters. A feature of the period was the almost complete absence of revolutionary technical innovation. This was important, along with the nature of the building market, in ensuring the continued existence of the small master class in building. Unlike cotton and iron building was not amenable to the utilisation of large amounts of fixed capital investment which resulted in the almost total elimination of the small masters in these industries. As noted, however, economies of scale were possible and the period witnessed the rise of the large building firm. Confined to a few firms their impact was nonetheless important. Building was becoming polarised between the large firm and the small master firm. The bigger outfits were able to take advantage of the large and lucrative public works, and other substantial projects. Small masters were increasingly confined to the housing and jobbing and repair end of the market, with diminishing prospects for upward mobility. Pushed into a highly competitive market situation, not of their own making, many faced a precarious and uncertain existence in the housing market. The rise of speculative building whilst increasing the competitive nature of the trade also raised the perennial problem of finance. Small

masters were increasingly placed in a subordinate role to external financial institutions and individuals, dependent on them for their business existence.

In the second half of the century trends that were already evident in the first continued apace. Significantly the changes occurring remained organisational rather than in the area of widespread mechanisation. For the small masters the effects were considerable. Most noticeable was the continued rise of the general contractor and the subsequent growth of sub-contracting which eroded the independence of the small masters.

Large building projects in the second half of the century were the established preserve of the general contractor, who might then sub-contract work out to small masters. In Edinburgh the building of the City Poorhouse at Craiglockart in 1867 was undertaken by George Beattie and Sons, Architects and Builders. The tender for the project was £37,000. A good deal of work was contracted out to smaller concerns. Mr. Robert Hutchinson was sub-contracted to do mason work. Messrs. Kemp, Murray and Nicolson undertook the joinery work. The plumbing was sub-contracted to Mr. McCalman, Mr. Anderson undertook the slater work, and Mr. John Mellor the road works.[53]

Though large contracts in the city had generally been the preserve of a few capitalist enterprises competing with

each other, by the last decades of the century building was entering a new phase of becoming a national market; if only for the very large contract. In 1879 it was reported that the building of the New Medical School in the city was being undertaken by Messrs. Meikle, Builders, Ayr, who employed from 200-300 men.[54]

It was only through the process of sub-contracting that the small masters in the building trades might obtain a share of the profits of these large and often lucrative contracts. Though sub-contract work was also open to tender which ensured that the lion's share of the profit would fall to the general contractor. The overall effect of this polarisation of the trade was that the small masters were left to compete in an increasingly over competitive housebuilding and jobbing sector of the trade, which left few avenues for upward mobility. Few could hope to even tender for such large projects, having little knowledge of the quantities involved in that scale of operation. Size of Firm was itself a condition of securing this type of operation, and the necessary finance to do so. However, even in the housebuilding sector, a traditional preserve of the small master throughout the century, change in the scale of operation was apparent. Rodger has calculated that in Edinburgh in the last decades of the nineteenth century 18.7 per cent of planned housebuilding was undertaken by just five large firms. These same firms were also active in land speculation. Buying when the

market was cheap then awaiting the upturn in demand for housing and proceeding to build, thus making a profitable killing.[55] Indeed the biggest profits came not from building itself but from land speculation and building combined.[56]

The most successful of the housebuilders in Edinburgh in the last decades of the century was James Steel, originally a journeyman mason. Between 1885 and 1894 he undertook work to the value of £210,000 in the city. Steel had actively engaged in land speculation on a substantial scale.[57] As a measure of his success T. B. Whitson in his Lord Provosts of Edinburgh, recounts the tale whereby Steel was asked to state his income to a public inquiry, to which he replied £80,000 per annum. He was informed that they wished to know his yearly income, not his capital. Steel, reiterated, that was his yearly income.[58]

Despite the emergence of the large-scale concerns in the city, that, at least, from the mid-century period were economically dominant, the industry remained structured around small master units of production. The minimum of capital was often required to commence business particularly at the bottom end of the trade; this remained a feature of the trade throughout the period in question.[59] Nonetheless, ease of entry was not in itself a guarantee of progress given the emerging structure of the industry, few could hope to aspire to the position of capitalist. As early

as 1844, a correspondent to The Builder spoke of a widening breach occurring in the industry. This had allowed 'a species of monopoly to a few capitalists to concentrate in themselves all the different branches of art connected with building, and keep the workman to his caste or class, whatever may be his genius.'[60] Recognition therefore, of the polarisation between large and small masters was already apparent; but it remains difficult to interpret how widespread was the recognition.

In Edinburgh from mid-century, sub-contracting was widespread in the industry. In 1852 the Edinburgh News reported that the systems of 'tasking' and 'sub-contracting' had all but universally been adopted after the 1825 building crash. The report drew comparisons as to the similarity of the system with 'sweating' in the tailoring trade.[61] Historians of the building trade have interpreted the development of the system of sub-contracting as one of the most fundamental changes affecting the structure of the industry.[62] The practice of bespoke building was on the decline and with it there was a fundamental shift in the nature of economic and social relationships which left many small masters dependent on large, and middlemen, contractors, where independence gave way to dependence.

But as elsewhere in the area of sub-contracting the lines between ordinary commercial transactions, and dependent, sometimes exploitative, relationships between the small

masters and capitalists remains somewhat blurred. Moreover, the undertakings of small masters could move between bespoke work where independence was guaranteed, through jobbing, repair work, and self-financing projects, again where independence was guaranteed, into dependence on suppliers, financiers, or large contractors. Indeed a small master might pass through a number of these stages in business dealings. Moreover, sub-contracting still afforded the opportunity to many journeymen and small masters to assume the nominal appearance of becoming, or continuing as small masters. Employers of labour themselves and in reality employed themselves, they were faced with a conflicting situation.

A contractor might not necessarily even be a builder. The nineteenth-century witnessed the growth of middlemen contractors in the industry. The role of architects and solicitors was particularly important. Though information on the activities of solicitors is difficult to come by, information is partially available for architects. The bill book of the firm of Lambie, Moffat and Aitken, Architects, Edinburgh, is illustrative of the role played by this group in building.[63] The entries reveal the extent to which firms of this type dominated building projects from start to finish. In 1870 Henry Moffat measured and scheduled the quantity of work to be done, obtained estimates from various builders in the city, and drew up plans in consultation with the owner of the proposed building.

In addition, he supervised and directed the operations to their completion, examining the work, and checking the accounts of the builder.[64]

In 1875 the firm secured a contract from the Edinburgh School Board to draw up plans and supervise the building of Leith Walk School. In addition to drawing up the plans, the firm drew up the specifications for painting work, gas fittings, desks and benches, window blinds, furniture and fittings. Perhaps, more important, they also drew up the conditions of contract for the builder and supervised and directed the work to completion.[65] Clearly this firm acted as a general contractor sub-contracting by tender to various builders in the city. However, it is unlikely that architects were used in the working-class housing market except when such building was on substantial developmental lines. Though from mid-century they played an ever increasing role in middle-class housing.

Historians are agreed that the existence of sub-contracting, credit ties with suppliers, dependency on external financial agencies or individuals, worked to the disadvantage of the small master. Few could claim to be truly independent. The system of contracting for work introduced what Price has termed 'competitive anarchy.'[66] Architects in particular were accused of 'sweating the builders', especially through the practice of double tendering; that is asking builders to re-submit a lower tender than the first. This was

widely proclaimed in the Builder, as an attempt to squeeze the small masters to the limit.[67] And by 1890, builders were sufficiently aroused to appoint a deputation to consult with the Institute of British Architects. The builders' case was that sub-contracting led to a cutting of wages, and the 'sweating' of both masters and workmen, and was a prominent cause of bad workmanship and scamping.[68]

It was individuals who frequently put pen to paper to voice their opinions on events taking place in the industry. Individuals rather than a mass movement from the ranks of the small masters made their opposition known, but at the same time reflected the state of feeling in the industry. A correspondent to the Builder, in 1847, made the point that all work in the trade was put to contract. The independent relationship between 'employer' and master craftsman (employer referred here to customer) was replaced by the 'interference of architects.' The writer made a plea to the master builders in every town and city to counteract the ruinous competition arising from the system.[69] In 1852 an age of monopoly was already depicted which saw 'a struggle of might against right, - a struggle of the rich the overbearing against the weak and the lowly.' How it was asked 'can a man of small trading be satisfied, or can he obtain a livelihood upon $2\frac{1}{2}$, 3 or 5 per cent, with which his more powerful opponents are?'[70] This was the crux of the matter for small masters the return on their investment and labour was reduced to an absolute minimum,

either directly by the over arching contractor, or indirectly by the general effects of competition.

Concern too was expressed over the closing of the avenues of social mobility for small masters. By mid-century it was viewed that contracting had closed the opportunities for social mobility. Lack of capital, or the ability to accumulate capital, prevented them becoming 'independent of servitude, or become as of old a master.' Economic relationships now only allowed him to become 'a drudge - a task master - a tool of the great builder, but he will never be the respectable, substantial master that was commonly known forty years ago.'[71] Contractors, were 'grinding monopolists' who had united the various traders under one capital, sub-contracting out the work to 'the cheapest journeyman in trade, even should he want knowledge, capital or character.'[72] By 1890 developments appeared to some to be leading to 'the extinction of all individuality and independent worth and enterprise.'[73]

The period 1850 to 1900 was again marked by few developments in technology involving the utilisation of large amounts of fixed capital. Large scale capitalist firms existed because of development in organisation and owed little for the most part to a monopoly of fixed capital. Building remained craft based and labour intensive.

Where technical innovation did occur it was most likely to be effective in the preparation of materials rather than building plant. This was true of the wood-working trades. An example of cost saving steam technology was evident in the dealings of the Edinburgh Co-operative Building Company. The company was run entirely by working men directors on behalf of shareholders wishing to build their own houses. Nonetheless they provide an example of the costs involved in purchasing such technology. One shareholder had written to the directors urging them to invest in a steam powered saw, arguing that a 'very great saving would be effected by such a machine.'[74] A year later in 1868 the directors accepted an estimate from Thomas Robinson and Son, of Rochdale, to supply a steam powered saw, including a boiler, at a cost of £400.[75]

Though few small masters could afford or justify such investment relative to their scale of operations, they were nevertheless able to take advantage of steam technology used in timber yards to prepare materials. There was greater scope for a variety of pre-fabricated mouldings, door and window frames, floor boards etc. It was here in the preparation of materials that building was fundamentaly altered. Whilst small masters had access to these labour saving and cost reducing materials, and took advantage of them, it nonetheless created a greater dependence on the suppliers and extended the bonds of credit.

The larger firms in Edinburgh by 1879 were utilising stone dressing machinery, this it was said had depressed the demand for labour.[76] The firm of Meikle Builders, Ayr, contracted to build the New Medical School, were typical of the very few firms utilising steam technology. Apart from employing some 300 men, they made use of steam power. A dozen steam engines were used to power stone cutting machinery, mortar mixing-mills, and 8 cranes. The plant was valued at £7,000, and the erection of each steam crane £100 'before a stone was lifted.'[77]

Elsewhere plumbers used pre-fabricated pipes where previously they had made their own. Concrete was produced as an alternative to stone lintels, steps and window sills. Mild steel was also used as an alternative as lintels etc. Again small masters could take advantage of these products but again it strengthened the bonds with suppliers.[78]

Because building dealt with particularly unique commodities distinguished by their cost and lasting qualities, the availability of finance played a determining role in the industry. For small masters the availability of funding was virtually a condition of their continued survival in business. Both the demand and supply side of the market were subject to a number of influences. On the demand side historians have included population increase, age distribution and internal migration as determinants of social need. Though it should be noted that social need

was not the main regulator of building activity. Again on the demand side rising real incomes were a factor. On the supply side building was determined by external economic considerations. The results of these influences produced 2 types of economic fluctuations in housebuilding. Firstly, short-term averaging between 5 and 10 years and based on the business cycle. Secondly, long-term, lasting 20 years or more. The short-term cycle was more significant in the first half of the century and from the 1860s the long-term cycle was much in evidence. However, local studies have shown that there was sometimes a significant departure from this national picture.[79]

The causes of such fluctuations are the subject of much debate among historians. The debate has centred around attempts to discover the fundamental regulator of building activity and has focussed on interest rates. Concern here is with the general rather than the specifics of the debate. As noted building requires large amounts of capital outlay, it is moreover obviously in competition with other sectors of the economy for that capital, yet as Burnett notes 'beyond a simple statement that building activity could be stimulated or discouraged by general movements of prices and interest rates, it is perhaps, wise not to venture.' Burnett usefully sumarises part of the debate:

> The theory that economic growth in Britain and the United States were inversely related to each other, engagingly summarized by Professor

> Phelps Brown in the dictum that 'whether a house is built in Oldham depends on and is decided by whether a house goes up in Oklahoma,' has been disputed by other authorities. The evidence seems to suggest that building was, for the most part, internally determined, that it was a highly imperfect (in the economists' sense) industry, and that population growth and migration patterns at the local level were usually more powerful determinants than material and labour costs and minor variations in rents. Ultimately the decision whether to build or not was taken at the local level by a man in a small way of business, with his own network of credit facilities, materials, suppliers and labour. His calculations, such as they were, rested on his expectations of the price at which the completed house would be sold or rented, based on his knowledge of the area and his guesses about future demand.[80]

In all this, it can be assumed that few small masters were aware of, let alone understood, theories as complex as the business cycle. In deciding to build they were motivated, less by social needs, and more by their guesses as to how much profit was to be made on building a house. Decisions to build were affected by local conditions: 'the state of trade, the prosperity or otherwise of local industries, the level of wages and, perhaps above all the number of "empties" on the market;'[81] as well as the availability of funds. Overall, then this complexity of supply and demand ensured that many of the small masters walked a greasy tightrope. Their existence was as secure as their next piece of funding.

In the second half of the century most building was by small masters who built houses as speculation, hoping to

sell as quickly as possible and begin new projects.[82] Sources of credit remained uncertain and diverse. Some small masters might in the first instance have enough capital to succeed in the completion of a house. The proceeds would then be used to finance other projects. Moreover, some would retain some properties to provide for a secure and steady income, either to initiate further projects or to be used for domestic consumption. An example of this comes from Edinburgh. The sederunt books of James Dickson, builder, active in the trade in the first half of the century, show that Dickson owned two tenement properties in Leopold Place, two in Blenheim Place, two flats in Hart Street and other small commercial property, which had an estimated value of £16,000 in 1845.[83] An important source of funding for houses came from new buyers. Providing the long term investment they were mainly local people seeking a safe return on their small amounts of capital and looking to keep an eye on their investments.[84]

Outwith their own finances small masters looked to landlords, financial institutions, the funds of private individuals and solicitors, amongst others. Rodger has estimated that in Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century as much as 40 per cent of capital funding came from sources other than financial institutions.[85] Small masters used their local knowledge and networks to tap the savings of professionals, small businessmen, widows, spinsters, orphans.[86] Charitable institutions were another

source of funding in this area. Investors in such projects were guaranteed a return of five per cent. This more than philanthropy provided a source of funds for many a small master.[87] Indeed this fact was advertised. A correspondent to the Edinburgh Courant drew attention to the eligibility, as a money investment, of providing houses for the poor.[88]

As Rodger implied earlier a trend in the nineteenth-century was the growing importance of financial institutions as the source of funding for housebuilding. Some 60 per cent of funding in the period 1870 to 1914 came via financial institutions in Scotland. In his investigations into the building industry Dyos has argued that the larger financial institutions, banks and insurance companies, tended on the whole to lend only to the top end of the building industry.[89] Smaller institutions such as building societies, investment trusts and solicitors were probably a source of funding for the more secure small masters. The Builder, in its early years welcomed the development of the building societies, saw them as 'useful institutions', which would 'bring back that independent race of small property men and freeholders, whom the selfish and grasping tendancies of the present times have well nigh succeeded in expelling.'[90] By 1870 there were 2,088 building societies in Great Britain with assets of £18 million. In 1900 their number stood at 2,286 with assets totalling £60 million.[91]

Solicitors, and other legal functionaries, were another source of potential funds for small master builders. They might use their own capital as well as channelling the funds of others, particularly estate trusts, into the financing of projects. Their involvement in property law made the step into dealing in property speculation a fairly easy one. Indeed it may be the case that members of the legal profession acted as building contractors in a small way. Certainly, in Edinburgh, during the early part of the century William Morrison described himself as a Writer and Builder. He was engaged in small building developments.[92] However, the role of the legal profession, needs further research in this area.[93]

Throughout the nineteenth century an aspect of financing that was a knife edge affair for the small men was the step-by-step advance on work completed. If the funds dried up the small builder was left with an unsaleable commodity with which to realise his profit.[94] Step at a time financing figured also in the granting of trade credit, by timber yards, stone merchants, hardware merchants etc. A restriction of credit could create problems that might ultimately end in failure. Trade credit for many small men was their life blood.[95]

The account books of the firm of White and Matheson, masons, Edinburgh for the period 1866-69 have survived. The work was entirely jobbing work and it is likely that the firm

comprised White, Matheson and perhaps a labourer. The account book itself comprises only a dozen pages, and essentially covers the year from January 1868 to January 1869. In that period 13 jobs were undertaken the smallest was charged 14s. and the largest £382 6s. 6d. In that year they did work to the value of £542. However, their accumulated debts over the same period amounted to £330. The entries indicate that many of the debts were owed to other tradesmen, mostly suppliers of materials. Brown and Brown of 182 Hope Street, Glasgow were owed £66. A Mr. Peacock, brick and lime agent, Waterloo Place, Edinburgh, was due over £31 and Mr. Duncan, stone merchant, Port Hopetoun, Edinburgh, over £26.[96] It is clear that without trade credit this firm would probably have been unable to continue in existence, or perhaps not even have got off the ground.

The market for land was a source of anxiety for small master builders. A growth in land speculation in many towns and cities saw available building land increasingly difficult to secure. In 1879 the Edinburgh Property Review and Investment Circular, stated that 'complaints have been made for many years as to the difficulty of obtaining feuing ground in Edinburgh, or immediate neighbourhood, at a price sufficiently moderate to enable builders to undertake the erection of cottages or small villas suitable for tradesmen of limited means.'[97]

The vagaries of demand for building, and the haphazardous structure of the finance market ensured that the economic security of the small master builder was only as secure as his last advance of capital. If no funds were to be had then the small master would either cease trading or return to jobbing and repair work. Such dependence on finance, left the small builders, as Dyos has argued, in a position whereby they 'narrowly escaped being simple hirelings of the landlord or of the developer, and who had come very quickly into a kind of financial servitude to more powerful men'.[98] Such claims to independence in the light of sub-contracting, and financial controls, were extremely shallow.

Within Edinburgh's nineteenth century building industry small master production remained the typical unit of enterprise. In accounting for this a variety of factors were at work. The growth of the market which could not readily be met by large concerns occasioned the demand for the services of the many small masters. The localised and special nature of the commodity did not easily lend itself to large economies of scale. The slow growth of large-scale organisation. The relative lack of technological development needing large amounts of capital. Imperfectly competitive markets within the industry and the ability of large concerns to use sub-contracting to their advantage making savings on the need to maintain permanent work-forces and savings on the costs of supervision. In addition the availability sometimes of unpaid family labour, individualism and a willingness to accept low returns in a high risk industry.

As argued, however, this persistence was accompanied by fundamental changes in the industry leaving the small masters with only a nominal independence. In Edinburgh the use of sub-contract was widespread at least from the second half of the century if not before. Here small masters acted as both employer and employee generally supplying only their labour and using supplied materials. Credit relationships with suppliers were common, small masters might be seen as satellites of these large concerns. The finance required in building introduced a servitude uncommon in other industries. Finally, in an industry renowned for its turnover of firms this naked instability served to reduce the notion of independence still further.

PRINTING

The printing industry was an example of an industry which had undergone substantial technological development and economies of scale. However, it would be too easy an assumption to then imply the demise of small master production within the industry, particularly in the nineteenth century.

Printing by the end of the nineteenth century was Edinburgh's staple industry. In a speech to the inaugural meeting of the Edinburgh Branch of the British Typographia Association

in 1888, Councillor Gillies charted some developments. In 1763 there were four printing houses in the city, by 1790 twenty-one, in 1805 forty with one hundred and twenty printing presses and by 1888 well over a hundred firms employing upwards of 3,000 people.[99] Even by mid-century its growing importance was recognised. The Edinburgh News survey in 1853 alluded to it having 'taken up a most important position in the general trade of the town' and the fact that it employed the then 'enormous number' of 598 journeymen and 329 apprentices.[100] Though initially catering for a local market, and serving the needs of the many business and institutional needs in the capital, by mid-century the industry was already establishing itself in the national market. In Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk, it was remarked that instead of Scottish authors sending their works to London to be published there was nothing more common to find English authors sending their works to Houses in Edinburgh.[101] Towards the end of the century trade in the city had become international with an expanding export market.[102]

All this was possible because economic growth and social change raised the demand for printing. Literacy was on the increase as a result of developments in Education. Rising incomes created a demand for leisured and informative reading material. Growing political awareness again raised the demand for knowledge and information. In business the printed word was the main means of communication

for much of the nineteenth-century. This once more stimulated the demand for printing at all levels of the trade whether large capitalist or small master.

In the period 1800 to 1850 a number of important developments were taking place in respect of organisational structure and technological development. Often these went hand-in-hand but one did not preclude the other. In 1818 Leslie Fleming commenced his apprenticeship as a compositor in Blair Street, Edinburgh. He was indentured to his brother and his partner. The firm was typical of other establishments in the city;this threesome being the entire workforce. At this point in time printing had developed little from what it had been at the beginning of the eighteenth-century. It was still predominantly a hand based technology. As Fleming recounted 'during my apprenticeship, and for several years afterwards, wooden presses, taking two pulls for each impression, and balls for inking the type were almost universal'.[103] Thus this early period was characterised by little technological innovation in the industry.

Despite the fact that hand labour continued as the operative technology and rotary motion had as yet made no inroads in the Edinburgh trade, there was still room for development in organisation and employment of substantial numbers of workers. Without the mode of production being revolutionised firms could still operate on capitalistic lines. Thus in

1826 the Ballantyne press was said to employ between thirty and forty compositors alone, in a printing office off the High Street, that had originally been a private dwelling house.[104]

Before the coming of steam presses the output of firms organised in the above manner could still be substantial. In 1825 Archibald Constable head of one of the largest printing and publishing firms in the city propounded his plan for revolutionising 'the art and traffic of bookselling.' From the annual schedule of assessed taxes, Constable calculated the number of persons capable of buying luxury articles. He concluded that if he produced 'twelve volumes so good that millions must wish to have them, and so cheap that every butcher's callant may have them, if he please to let me tax him sixpence a week', he would then sell his books 'not by thousands or tens of thousands, but by hundreds of thousands - aye, by millions.'[105] Already in the first quarter of the century small masters were under pressure from changes in the structure of the trade. Beginning to emerge were a few firms developing along capitalistic lines. However, as long as hand labour was the operative technology small masters could compete on a favourable basis.

Though steam technology had first entered the trade in 1814 in Britain, when it was used in the printing of the Times newspaper, it took another fourteen years before the

technology was utilised in Edinburgh.[106] Steam powered presses were first used in 1828 by William Fraser of the firm of Neil and Company.[107] The introduction of the steam press was to radically alter the structure of the trade creating the conditions whereby factory production could flourish. It should be noted however that a technological revolution in composing was not essentially achieved until the last decades of the nineteenth century.

The new technology became the monopoly of the very few large firms in the city partly through the prohibitive cost and partly by the fact that only those firms with sufficient output could justify the utilisation of such capital equipment. Interestingly John Gray owner of the Edinburgh, Leith and Glasgow Advertiser called a meeting of master printers together in the city in 1830. The purpose of Gray's meeting was to persuade the masters to buy or rent out steam presses. Speaking in the Edinburgh Printers' Hall Gray argued that if they did not accept his offer 'they would soon cease to have anything to print, and a few houses, already in possession of this, to them, inestimable treasure will annihilate your very existence as respectable members of a trading community.' Although the cost of a steam press was prohibitive, Gray broached the subject of co-operation between the smaller masters. The long term advantages were plain enough 'a book printing machine requiring a man and two boys to work it, the former at five shillings, and the two latter at one shilling

a day, each will give in twelve hours when constantly working, eighteen thousand impressions beautifully printed for the sum of seven shillings.' On the other hand, the hand press 'would cost at the lowest rate of payment for book printing, three guineas.'[108] There is no evidence to suggest that small masters combined to rent or buy steam presses. In the event they were faced with the fact that hand labour was said to add an estimated 40 per cent to the cost of production compared with the new machinery.[109]

In 1835 the firm of William and Robert Chambers, publishers and printers, installed a steam press manufactured by Claud Girwood and Company of Glasgow. This cost 'upwards of £300 and at least £200 to install.' The results of the technology were seen in the reduced unit costs. The company reasoned that the cost of Chambers' Edinburgh Journal would have been double the price threepence instead of the then three half-pence, if printed using hand operated presses. Indeed they questioned whether publication was possible without recourse to steam.[110]

By 1853 the Edinburgh News, could report that machines of different construction and varying rates of production had been introduced into 'almost every respectable printing house in Edinburgh' (for respectable equate this with size). It calculated that somewhere between fifty and sixty steam presses were working in the town.[111] In the period under discussion two factors had emerged to change

the structure of the industry. Firstly, the emergence of the large workshop employing substantial numbers of compositors and pressmen, but still utilising hand-labour. And secondly, from 1828 the introduction of the steam press. The latter succeeded in revolutionising the mode of production, allowing increased output by the larger houses and an extension of the scale of operations. Interestingly there remained a bottleneck in the production process because of the lack of development in technological innovation in compositing. The bottleneck was overcome to an extent by simply increasing the number of compositors to meet the demand of the presses. The last decades of the nineteenth-century saw the introduction of monotype typesetting machines but their use was largely confined to the newspaper trade.

By the mid-century period a number of firms of significant size and scale had established themselves in the city. In 1843 the firm of W. R. Chambers was employing thirty-seven men, five women, nineteen boys and nine girls.[112] In 1885 The same firm employed around six hundred hands.[113] The firm of Nelson's was the largest of the printing firms operating in the city in the second-half of the century. In 1867 it was said to employ four hundred and forty workers and in 1885 around seven hundred.[114] The Scotsman newspaper employed thirty two compositors and pressmen in 1855, ten years later the numbers were one hundred and three. Another firm of considerable size was Constables employing

eighty-four in 1856 and by 1900 two hundred and fifty six.[115] Over the half-century from 1850 a number of firms had emerged to become substantial capitalistic enterprises at the same time the number of firms engaged in all aspects of the industry increased from one hundred and forty six in 1841 to three hundred and seventeen in 1901. What then of the small master who had been the main stay of the trade in 1800?

In 1830 John Gray had warned of the imminent eclipse of the small printer. Yet of those printers giving numbers employed in the census enumerator schedules of 1851 63% employed between one and ten men and 75% between one and twenty men.[116] In 1863 James Wilkie conducted an investigation into the apprenticeship system operating in the trade. His analysis found that there was a greater proclivity to use apprentice labour in smaller offices. His findings also threw some light on the structure of the trade. Nine 'book offices,' those engaged in publishing and printing presumably, in the city employed three hundred and ninety two journeymen and one hundred and eighty six apprentices. This gave a mean ratio per firm of forty-three men and twenty apprentices. Four large newspaper offices between them employed one hundred and fifteen men and forty-eight apprentices, on average twenty-eight men and twelve apprentices each. However, at the small master end of the trade, thirty-three 'smaller book and jobbing offices' employed only one hundred and thirty three

journeymen but one hundred and thirty six apprentices, which gave a mean ratio per firm of four men and four apprentices. Finally, seven small newspaper offices together employed forty-seven journeymen and fifty-two apprentices or an average six men and seven apprentices.[117]

This emphasis on the use of apprenticeship by the small masters was not borne of altruism for the interests of the trade. Instead it had more to do with economic necessity. For the small master could compete favourably with the larger houses by the use of sweated labour and making full use of boy apprentices. Labour costs were therefore kept to a minimum.

In addition to this ability to compete small masters were more flexible in their approach to the different markets within the demand for printing services. The larger houses were concerned mainly with large print runs. But the smaller master was in a position to benefit from the jobbing end of the market. In 1874 the Printing Times and Lithographer, referring to the trade in Edinburgh, stated that there was a 'considerable number of small printing offices, which look out pretty hard for law printing, the setting up of lectures, circulars, and all the odd jobbing which supplies so much "grist to the mill".'[118]

The economies of the industry remained such that in 1873 the Printing News again noted the increasing use of

specialised cheap apprentice labour among small firms which allowed them to compete on favourable terms with the larger firms, to the point of undercutting them. Internal competition between the large and small firms produced a degree of conflict between the two. The large concerns sought, with the co-operation of the unions, to regulate the ratio of apprentices to journeymen and by improving the standard of training for the former, to raise the costs of labour thus hitting at the ability of the small masters to compete. By 1912 in Edinburgh, an Apprentice Training Scheme was established.[119]

There is little evidence to suggest that the larger companies in printing sub-contracted printing to the small master houses engaged in printing. But those engaged in the allied trades such as bookbinding and engraving were certainly open to this form of relationship. The relationship between publishers and small master printers, however, may have developed along the lines that the small masters were little more than outworkers for the large publishing houses. The evidence is altogether too thin to be conclusive. In 1826 for example merchant capital in the form of a large publishing house appeared to be using the services of local printers. When the Edinburgh firm of Constable and Company went bankrupt among the creditors were the firms J. & C. Muirhead who were owed £267 18s 6d and John Stark £801 7s 11½d.[120] In all probability merchant capital in the form of publishers played a dominant role over those small masters in the book trade during the century.

Within the printing industry there were a number of trades such as bookbinding and engraving where evidence of sub-contract to the larger houses in printing or publishing was greater.

Bremner, in analysing the industrial structure of Edinburgh in the late nineteenth century correctly drew attention to the fact that it was not only printing but its allied trades as well that made it the staple industry of the city. Indeed out of 10,000 persons employed in the industry as a whole in 1869 in Scotland Bremner estimated that over half were employed in or around Edinburgh.[121] The complementary trades spawned by printing opened up avenues for small master development, particularly in bookbinding and engraving. The more capital intensive industries of typefounding and papermaking were also present, but these had assumed the structure of the factory system in the first half of the nineteenth-century.

In bookbinding the first half of the century was marked by little technological development. The industry utilised hand labour in its operations. Most of the bindings continued to be made of leather, vellum or silk. The only development of note in this early period was the introduction of rolling machines from around 1830, which although still hand operated, replaced the beating of the coverings by hammer. These machines became universal fairly quickly. By the mid-century machinery had been introduced for

cutting edges as well, and in the second-half of the century steam power had begun to make its presence felt in the trade, especially in the work of folding.[122]

The lack of technological advance in the trade ensured that social mobility for journeymen was a feature of the trade in the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1825 the Edinburgh Union Society of Journeymen Bookbinders complained that many journeymen because of the low wages and conditions offered by the masters, were setting themselves up as small masters. The society of journeymen wished at this time to restrict the number of apprentices to ensure their long term future. An increase in masters was sure to bring about an increase in cheap apprentice labour. Already in the city it was stated that there were forty masters, however twenty of these, it was argued, employed no journeymen. Moreover, there were eighty journeymen but almost 130 apprentices, exclusive of girls. The masters who employed no journeymen were often found to employ 5 or 6 apprentices or perhaps one journeyman and seven apprentices.[123] The employment of apprentices appreciably lowered labour costs and allowed many small masters the opportunity to compete with the larger workshops for trade.

Bookbinding being a subsidiary trade ensured that it was extensively open to sub-contracting at both the top and small end of the trade. In drawing attention to the number

of journeymen forced to set themselves up as self employed small masters in 1825 the Society of Journeymen Bookbinders also drew particular attention to the relationship between the master bookbinders and the publishers and booksellers. The small masters were said to "work to the Booksellers for any price they are pleased to give them; and it is in their power to work for prices far below those who employ journeymen, as long as they are allowed to employ so many apprentices.'[124] In this respect many of the small masters were no more than outwork departments for the large publishing firms in the city and therefore dependent on that section of the capitalist class.[125]

As part of the printing trade, bookbinding was open to absorption and integration within the confines of one large firm. Indeed in 1853 it was already reported that some of the larger firms in Edinburgh were complete factories, "where all the adjuncts of the profession are carried on simultaneously by great numbers of persons." Firms were involved in inkmaking, stereotyping, bookbinding, hot-pressing and even writing.[126] As early as 1843 the firm of William and Robert Chambers, one of the largest at this time, detailed the departments operating there: 'the leading branches are, first that in which we are ourselves engaged, with an assistant, in editing our different publications; then follow compositors, stereotyping, machine printing, pressing, book-binding, warehousing, packing and finally the sale office.'[127]

Nevertheless, despite this tendency, bookbinding continued to remain an independent trade and one that was still dominated at bottom by small masters right to the end of the period in question. In 1876 The Printers Register could say of the trade in Edinburgh, that it seemed to enjoy "perennial prosperity," indeed publishers still had difficulty in meeting their output targets. It argued that the industry was still ripe for new entrants anxious to make a go in business. However, it was added that 'the cost of the plant to keep pace with the times, is . . . yearly becoming heavier, and this has probably prevented the natural increase of bookbinding shops.'[128] Technology, was then daily becoming a potential barrier to small master growth, but not exclusively so.

Where the small master bookbinder continued to flourish he did so under conditions of dependence on publishers and printers. Indeed it is possible to argue that bookbinding was never a truly independent trade. For the bespoke side of the trade, although it did exist, was never a dominant characteristic of the trade.

The development of engraving as a subsidiary trade of the printing industry in Edinburgh, dates from the last decades of the eighteenth-century, when it is estimated two or three master engravers were at work in the city.[129] The trade remained an artistic handicraft throughout the century, at least in terms of the compilation of the engravings.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the only technical development of any particular note was the substitution of steel for copper on which the engraving was cut. Steel allowed up to fifty times more impressions than copper, which encouraged publishers to speculate more on larger numbers of volumes incorporating engraved work.[130]

Engraving was a trade that was particularly open to entry by small masters because of the low technological requirement of the trade; though it was dependent on high artistic qualities of fine craftsmanship. As the New Statistical Account of Scotland stated 'in this business it would be very difficult always to distinguish journeymen from masters, for the facilities in conducting it are open to all, without distinction and without capital, as in other trades, so that the journeymen are as often engaged on works on their own account as for their masters; few of whom keep large establishments in their offices, and rather prefer to employ the workmen out of doors in their own houses.'[131] In copperplate printing the typical establishment at mid-century employed 'from three, four, and up to seven employees. The engraving and lithographic trade was largely confined to the printing of circulars and the jobbing end of the market, employing generally one or two employees, and a few firms employed from twelve to fifteen people in drawing and printing.'[132]

Some engraving firms developed to become large scale printers engaged in specialised engraved work, particularly map and music printing. The firm of Messrs. Schenck and MacFarlane employed in 1863 forty-two presses, twelve artists, and seventy printers and assistants. The most extensive firm, however, was that of Messrs. W. and A. K. Johnston, which employed one hundred and sixty persons and forty-eight presses.[133] Few small masters could hope to progress to such heights in the period after mid-century.

Like the bookbinders, the small master engravers functioned largely as outwork departments of the large printing works in the city, dependent on them for their economic existence, through selling their artistic services. The old established firm of W. H. Lizars' principal work was in illustrating books for the big concerns in the city.[134] Mr. William Nelson, owner of the largest printing works in the city, according to a writer in the Scottish Typographical Circular, was often 'popping in and out among artists and engravers who did work for him giving them new ideas and further suggestions.'[135]

It was clear then that the structure of the printing industry in regard to the allied parts was open to sub-contracting on a large scale. For example when the firm of Constable's was in a bankrupt condition in 1826 it counted amongst its creditors a number of Edinburgh firms who had obviously been sub-contracted to do work. William H. Lizars, engraver,

was owed the sum of £334 3s 10d; William Taylor, bookbinder, £959 4s 10d; John Manson, bookbinder, £92 11s 3d; Messrs. Henderson and Bisset, bookbinders, £173 2s 10d; and Mr. James McFagan, bookbinder, the sum of £726 2s.[136]

The expansion of the printing trade in Edinburgh created a demand for the specialist services of engravers and bookbinders. Many of these firms however, were merely outside workshops of the larger firms. Maintaining a nominal independence but dependent on the patronage of the large establishment.

Printing was an industry which underwent substantial technological development which created the conditions for factory production in the course of the nineteenth-century in Edinburgh. Such development did not displace small master production, though individuals found it difficult to maintain their existence.[137] Small masters were able to compete with large houses by reducing labour costs through sweating and the use of apprentice labour. In addition they took advantage of an extremely localised jobbing market somewhat bespoke in its orientation. The printing industry in Edinburgh also expanded the opportunities for small masters particularly in bookbinding and engraving.

Yet all this was accompanied by changing economic relationships which left few small masters far from independent. The evidence presented on sub-contracting, sweating, use

of apprentice labour, ties with merchant-capital, dictated prices in the case of the bookbinders, all point to an existence that was more dependent than independent; exploitative rather than fair commercial transaction. Small masters who maintained a measure of independence were those at the jobbing end of the market with a direct link with the customer.

TAILORING

For large part of the nineteenth-century the tailoring trade remained primarily a hand based technology. It was only in the latter decades that the industry was subjected to the introduction of mechanisation. And even here it would appear that no firms in Edinburgh underwent such revolutionary change during the century. However, the trade did not remain static and there were changes in the organisational structure and relationships within the industry that were to fundamentally alter the position of the small masters.

The workshop was and remained the fundamental unit of production in nineteenth-century Edinburgh. Small masters were central to the structure of the trade. From the evidence of the 1851 census some 94.6 per cent of tailors making a return as to numbers employed, employed less than

twenty people. Indeed 87.7 per cent employed ten or less.[138] In 1853 the Edinburgh News survey described the trade as analogous to that existing in London. It divided the structure into three categories. Firstly, the principle houses of the city, which neither produced or disposed of ready-made clothing, were chiefly patronised by the 'upper-classes', and employed from thirty to forty men in the season, but lucky to employ six out of season. Secondly, there were the dealers in superior ready-made clothing, but who made clothes-to-order also, chiefly patronised by the 'middle-classes.' Finally, there were the dealers in an inferior description of ready-made clothing, seldom producing order work, and patronised by the 'lower-classes.' This last category was said to be the preserve of the middle-men and the sweating system.[139]

A report in the Tailor in 1867 indicated that some fifty master tailors had agreed new time rates with their work-force of around six hundred. On average therefore each master would have employed twelve men. A more detailed picture of the trade in the city was given to the Commission on Factories and Workshops by Mr. Allen of the Edinburgh Trades Council. In his evidence regarding the sanitary conditions of the workshops he also mentioned the size of typical workforces in 1876. The firms are referred to in the report by number to avoid publicity:

> 'No.1 15 men and one female are employed ... In No.2 I see 15 men and 2 females ... No.3 ... from 7 to 9 men ... No.4 ... 8 men and 1 female ... No.5 ... 8 men ... No.6 ... 8 men and 1 female .... No.9 ... during the busy season ... about 30 men and 3 females.'[140]

Neither in 1876 had steam technology made inroads in the trade in Edinburgh thus creating the potentiality for the development of factory units.[141] Yet that in itself did not preclude developments in the size of establishments. In 1851 there was one firm of substantial proportions operating in the city. This was the ready-made clothing establishment of M. A. Levy which employed in the region of 150 men and women, though probably not under one roof but in a number of smaller workshops and individual houses. Thus though still based on handwork it did not preclude organisation on capitalist lines.[142] Levy conducted his ready-made business from the 'Cosmocapaleion' in the South Bridge, combining manufacture with selling. He was one of the first in the city to utilise both sewing and cutting machines, and whereas the tailors and clothiers had existed as separate trades, he brought them together. Moreover, Levy established retail branches in several of the large towns around Edinburgh. Apparently Levy made his fortune and sold up his business. With the passing of Levy there was never a subsequent firm of comparable size in nineteenth-century Edinburgh.[143]

Typical of the larger workshop in the city at the end of the century was that of J. Stewart, Tailor and Clothier, 88 George Street. In 1892 the firm employed from forty-five to fifty-five males and three apprentices. In a statement to the Royal Commission on Labour, the firm said that no sub-contract work was undertaken. However,

sub-contract work, if it did go on, was something that "respectable" houses would not readily admit to because of the association that "putting-out" was subject to the risk of spreading contagious diseases, especially from the insanitary conditions prevailing in many workshops.[144]

By 1895 the typical unit of production in tailoring was still the small workshops. In a survey of some 185 tailors workshops in the city the average workforce per establishment was 10 employees.[145] Far from disappearing, the small workshop not only maintained its presence in the city, the number most certainly increased. In 1841 there were 634 firms listed in the Post Office Directories as being engaged in the clothing trades in 1871 there were 982, and in 1901 1204.[146]

On the surface the position of the small masters might seem a healthy one. Yet as previously noted the small masters were a class plagued by instability and turnover of members. The tailors were no exception.[147] In Edinburgh the trade underwent little technological development that seriously threatened the existence of the small masters. However, organisational change and external relationships with merchant capital seriously challenged their independence. The evidence on piecework, the 'call-house' system ready made clothing, and sweating were important features of the changes affecting the small masters in tailoring, at the same time they were evidence of the growing domination of merchant intermediaries in the trade.

The role of the merchant intermediary was not, of course, a new phenomenon in the nineteenth-century.[148] Yet it is clear that in trades such as tailoring their role intensified and spread in line with the growth of the market.[149] The result, as Landes argues, was the subordination of the producer to the merchant; or sometimes the subordination of small producers to large. The decline of a bespoke local market where tailors had a stable group of customers bound to them personally as well as by pecuniary interest, was replaced by the dependence on sales through middlemen in growing and often distant competitive markets.

Subordination brought with it forms of exploitation. The small master tailor was generally ill prepared to handle the fluctuations inherent in the new arrangements. Given the seasonability of production associated with the trade, he might find himself at certain points of the year idle. If, and when, business picked up he usually had to borrow from the merchant the materials needed to get started again. Once this step was taken it became difficult to pay incurred debts and so the small master was caught in a vicious circle. The finished article he made was already mortgaged in advance. The small masters rarely regained their independence. And as Landes points out if they were not in principle proletarians they were but a step removed from this position, selling not a commodity but their labour power and that of their small workforce.[150]

In 1805 in Edinburgh a regulated system of piecework in the form of a 'time-log', which formed the basis of payment for work done, was introduced. By 1853 its use was widespread.[151] It seems clear that such systems had as much bearing on the small masters as it did the journeymen. Indeed it was argued that the introduction of piecework encouraged, and forced, small masters in particular to adopt sweating practices among the workforce.[152]

The practice whereby materials were given on credit in return for finished articles was again fairly widespread in Edinburgh. The Webb's in their investigations into the tailoring trade in the city described that the 'call-house' system, as the practice was called, was in general use from 1824.[153] In addition to the control over the small masters this system allowed, it also worked to prevent the emergence of workshops of any size. And for much of the century tailoring was carried out in the homes of journeymen and small masters. Indeed by the 1850 period the practice of the 'call-house' system was so extensive that it was said 'the employer shut the workshop altogether, and thus saved rent, fire and light.'[154] With Government legislation on workshops the practice of working from home was gradually ended in the second-half of the century. But that did not mean that the role of the merchant was in anyway diminished.

On the contrary the growth of the ready made clothing side of the trade was continued evidence of the role played by merchant capital. In 1850 the 'ready-made' trade caused consternation among masters and men. It was a case of the 'honourable' against the 'dishonourable' and was important for the spate of co-operation that it engendered between masters and journeymen anxious to protect their interests. Not to be outdone a notice in the Scotsman from 'Ready Made and to Order' informed the public that seventy-one masters and their men had combined to put down the ready made clothing establishments in Edinburgh. They had, it was argued, combined in the face of competition, and in an effort to maintain 'their exorbitant prices.'[155]

The outcome of this struggle between the 'honourable' and 'ready made' sides of the trade in Edinburgh remains obsure. Later evidence suggests that the ready made trade may have declined. In 1889 Neil McLean, Secretary of the National Operative Tailor's Protection Society, and Secretary to the Edinburgh Trades Council, stated in evidence to the Select Committee on the Sweating System that 'there is practically no such thing as the manufacturing of ready-made garments in Edinburgh.'[156] However, what in fact this statement meant is difficult to assess. It certainly did not mean that clothing was only made to order. What it suggests is that few tailoring establishments had set themselves up as ready made clothing establishments. But this did not preclude shops selling ready to wear garments.

Indeed this point was drawn out in the evidence of James Henderson, Factory Inspector. In his evidence Henderson argued that there was little evidence of sub-contracting in the trade in the city. There were 'one or two exceptional cases, but they do not exist to any great extent.'[157] But what Henderson was stating was that there was little evidence of large tailoring workshops sub-contracting work to smaller masters within the trade structure. It did not mean that external sub-contracting to merchants did not exist. For Henderson was further to explain that many of the small masters were 'connected with the sale shops'.[158] It was in conditions such as this that the independence of the small master was severely circumscribed. They had been largely converted into outwork departments of the shops. The selling price of the finished article remained the preserve of the merchant and many small masters adopted sweating practices both as a means of increasing their share of the profits and as a means of remaining competitive.

From mid-century sweating was seen as an important issue in the trade. In 1850 John Dingwall, Chairman of the Journeymen Tailors of Edinburgh, launched a bitter attack on the 'recent' development of the sweating system in the city. In his attack Dingwall attributed the growth of the practice to middlemen and systems of outwork.[159]

Developments elsewhere began to have effects on the localised market in Edinburgh. Increasing the need to remain competitive and probably pushing the small masters further into the practices of sweating. The growth of factory production and the rise of a national market in ready-made clothing were viewed as serious matters for discussion. In 1881, the Tailor, drawing attention to developments over the last twenty-five years, stated that the trade had suffered from the growth of ready-made clothing on the one hand, and on the other, the introduction of 'be-puffed cheap-to-order - made-garments'.[160] The Webbs in their researches into the tailoring industry noted the rise of Leeds as a centre of factory production. One establishment in that city turned out nearly one million garments a year, using machinery powered by gas and steam capable of cutting out greater amounts of cloth than was possible by hand.[161]

From 1885 the Leed's firm of Hepworth had established branches in Edinburgh for the sale of ready to wear suits.[162] To compete, small masters sweated their workforces.[163] In 1899 Councillor Hanson of Edinburgh, in an address to the operative tailors of the city, warned them that it was not so much the 'slop' shop but the factory that was now the great enemy of all concerned with the trade.[164]

On the whole, however, such developments were to affect the trade far in the future. The immediate threat was in

the area of competition and perhaps to produce a heightened psychological anxiety among the masters for their well being.

Within the nineteenth-century tailoring trade in Edinburgh small master production retained a significant presence. It remained the dominant form of production. However, the trade was by no means unchanging. Indeed a process of transformation was at work. The growth of the market led to industrial re-organisation with the workshops becoming more specialised. With market growth came greater commercial organisation, and a greater role for merchant capital to exploit the small masters. The 'call-house' system, sweating and sub-contracting all fairly universal in the city were evidence of the transforming power of merchant capital, and as bespoke work declined it became the overarching link between producer and market.

SHOEMAKING

In similar fashion to the tailoring trade shoemaking in nineteenth-century Edinburgh remained an industry based on production carried out in the home and the small workshop. And like tailoring it underwent little technological development. Nonetheless, change was apparent in the organisational aspects of the trade and the developing relationship between the masters and merchants.

Small master production remained a central part of the structure of the industry in Edinburgh during the nineteenth century. A major reason for the survival of the small master class in the industry was the lack of technological development. One historian of the industry has remarked that for most of the century the number of technical developments in the trade could be counted on one hand. The more important consisted of sewing machines: the 'Blake-MacKay' first appeared in Britain around 1859, and the 'Thomas' around 1855. The former could sew 300 stitches a minute compared with the 10 to 20 stitches of the hand sewer. At this time, however, such technology continued to be operated by human labour power. The machines cost in the region of £30, a sum unlikely to exclude the small masters. As yet the monopoly of technology was not in the hands of the few large enterprises.[165] As a result, in 1850 the progression from journeyman to master was still an attainable step. As the Scotsman concluded 'the shoemaker's or tailor's apprentice, in course of time, becomes a shoemaker or tailor himself, but the poor tobacco boy cannot hope to become a master in a business requiring considerable capital to carry it on'.[166] The low technical development in the industry was not a barrier to mobility.

From the 1851 census it is possible to appreciate the size of the typical unit of production in the trade. Of those shoemakers making a return as to the number of employees

they employed: 63.1 per cent employed between one and five men; 82.5 per cent between one and ten men; and 91.9 per cent employed between one and twenty men.[167] A government report in 1876 found that in one hundred and forty eight workshops operating in the city the average size of the unit of production was six, and in addition no steam power was being utilised in the trade.[168] Such findings are supported by the Webbs who found that in the period 1856 to 1887 the typical unit of production in all class of shops was less than eight men.[169] The information obtained by the Webbs was based on a survey undertaken by the Edinburgh Cordwainers Society. The survey was intended to illustrate the demise of the trade. In 1856 the population of the city was estimated to be 164, 211 and the number of shops one to every 1,500 people. In 1866 the position of the trade relative to population size had improved slightly with a ratio of one shop to every 1,300 people. However, by 1876 the ratio was 2,200 and by 1887 3,000. The Cordwainers Society attributed the decline to the increased use of the sewing machine and the growth of factory production; not necessarily in Edinburgh but sufficient to offset the demand for their services.[170]

Developments in the industry elsewhere certainly appeared to threaten the livelihood of the small masters. In 1869, Bremner, in his study of Scottish industry, reported the establishment of several large manufacturers of boots and shoes.[171] The concentration and beginnings of factory

production of shoes in Leicester and Northampton posed a serious long-term threat to the future of small master production.[172] In a stark, but somewhat premature warning, the Boot and Shoe Trades Chronicle in 1876 informed its readers that over the previous twenty-years the large manufacturer and the ready-made trade had eroded the economic position, and status of the small master.[173]

The bulk of the work in Edinburgh, however, remained up to the late 1880s on traditional handicraft lines. Only in the low class trade was it stated that the machine had absorbed nearly all of this work.[174] In other parts of the trade the introduction of machinery was not accomplished easily. In 1888, the leading employer in the city, Allan's, which employed forty-five men in 1900, succeeded in introducing machinery and a team work system of five men. The first man put the welt on by machine, the second stitched the sole on by machine, the third man put the heel on by hand, and the fourth and fifth men put the finishing touches by hand.[175] From the information available Allan's appeared to be an exception rather than the rule at this time.

Organisationally the workshop for most of the second-half of the century was the typical unit of production. However, attempts to introduce workshops met with a deal of antagonism from both men and small masters. Many resisted attempts to establish workshops, preferring to work in

their own homes. As the Edinburgh News, stated in 1853 'the shoemakers now are a remarkable independent body of men. They have no masters in particular their time is altogether at their own disposal'. Such was their antipathy to the workshop that 'at all events they have a law among them that if men are known to work "on the premises" of a master they will strike against that shop.' The reasons for this attitude lay in part in their artisan independence, but more particularly in the attempts of the journeymen to regulate entry into the trade. By remaining in their homes they sought to control the system of training and apprenticeship. The establishment of workshops would have relinquished control to the masters, leading to an increase in the number of trained men and a corresponding decline in the economic position of the journeyman.[176]

This opposition continued and resulted in delaying the introduction of mechanisation, with the trade remaining predominantly a hand based technology. In 1873 there was a strike by the unionised journeymen seeking to compel the masters to open workshops. This was seen by the union as a preventative measure against the injustices of the sweating system. Sweating was a feature of the trade in the city and was accompanied by a widespread system of outwork. In the Shoemaker's Cabin, published in Edinburgh in the early 1850s, it was argued that 'as to the sweating system, there seems to be nothing but the worst features

of it exemplified here.'[177] The strike of 1873 was fairly successful and many masters fell into line with the demand for workshops. However, the Webbs found that the journeymen unused to regular working hours had drifted back to their homes, in addition they had found it difficult to earn sufficient wages under the regulated work patterns. The employers as a result were forced to close many of the workshops in the city. And for a time only the four largest employers provided workshops, with a further two large workshops conducted by the union.[178]

An important part of the organisation of the trade was the division into different classes of work based on different markets. As in tailoring there was a variegated market stretching between high class and low class work. Such market differences were an additional factor in the survival of small master production where customer preference outweighed standardisation and mass production. The trade in Edinburgh was conventionally divided by class of shop. In 1853 the Edinburgh News divided the trade in the city into three classes. The first-class shops were thought to employ not more than fifty journeymen, and it can be guessed that bespoke work was probably the norm. The second-class shops employed in the region of 500 journeymen and the third-class including the makers of Leith, somewhere between 800-1,000 'journeymen, boys, cobblers, jobbers, everything.'[179] In 1887 in a survey carried out by the Edinburgh Cordwainers Society they divided the

trade into four classes of shop. In the first-class there were two firms operating in the city. In the second-class twenty-five, and in the third and fourth classes forty-seven and ten respectively.[180]

Overarching this trade structure were the merchants. Evidence from the first half of the nineteenth-century on the role of the merchant in the trade was not forthcoming in Edinburgh. Though by 1850 the evidence on sweating would imply that their role was a significant one. By 1888 the Webbs could state that the work was entirely 'order' - this should not be confused with bespoke - in otherwords production was for a merchant and not directly for the consumer. Again in these circumstances the notion of independence must remain a qualified one.

The remarkable feature of shoemaking was the extent to which handicraft survived for so long in the century. The trade in Edinburgh up to the last decade was organised predominantly on handicraft lines.[181] Competition and the rise of factory production ensured a rapid decline in hand made production, with the exception of the top end of the market perhaps, and forced shoemakers into the repair end of the market. By 1897 the Scottish Trader was only stating the obvious when it remarked that 'it pays far better to sell a pair of men's welted boots than to make a hand-sewn boot to sell at 21s or 22s 6d,' and forced to conclude 'that in spite of appearances the palmy

days of the hand-sewn trade are in the past.'[182] Finding it increasingly difficult to compete some became retailers, and were subject to the pressures discussed in the previous chapters, others set up as jobbing repairers or a combination of both. In becoming shoe repairers they maintained a level of independence, and it could be argued that they then possessed a greater degree of independence than they had as small producers. For a direct link with the customer had once more been established, and the domination of the merchants removed.

The transformation of the trade was becoming apparent from the fact that in Edinburgh in 1908 there was established the Edinburgh Boot Trades Association the object of which was 'to secure in return for their services a reasonable standard of living for those engaged in shoe-retailing and shoe-repairing.'[183]

Shoemaking like tailoring remained for a large part of the century untouched by technical developments that were eventually to revolutionise the industry. With the rise of factory production in the late decades of the century there was a perceptable move by small masters from production into repairing and retailing. The thrust of these developments, however, lay in the twentieth-century. During the nineteenth-century it was not the factory but the transforming power of merchant capital that was a decisive factor influencing and controlling the trade.

Putting-out, sweating, fixed-prices, specialisation and sub-contracting were all widely practised in Edinbrugh. And whilst the expansion of the market contributed to these practices it was merchant capital that extended the scale of commercial organisation and at the same time placed the small masters in a subordinate position.

BAKERS

The baker was distinguished from the nominally retail trades by the fact that he was 'a manufacturer which the other tradesmen are not'.[184] He exemplified the producer-retailer, who had been the hallmark of the retail trade in the early part of the nineteenth-century.

The baking trade remained throughout the century 'in the hands of thousands of small masters, their number growing daily.'[185] Ease of entry into the ranks of the small masters had long been a feature of the trade. Chambers' Edinburgh Journal in 1837 commented that:

> taking all things into consideration, it is one of the worst remunerated that exists, both for masters and men . . . . The foundation of the evil, we should suppose, lies in the comparative ease with which the trade is learned and set up . . . . Every operative becomes a master who can command a few pounds, or who perhaps has only a trifling credit. Having no inducement to remain a mere worker; having indeed no prospect of marrying or bettering himself while a journeyman

> domiciled like a domestic in the house of his employer, he flies off at a tangent, and sets up for himself.'[186]

This situation remained unchanged at mid-century. The Edinburgh News, in 1852, again highlighted the low rewards to be found in the trade. Where the master's profit was said to arise was from the exploitation of his men rather than from the sale of the final product. The journeymen were systematically overworked, and as a result they sought the earliest opportunity to commence in business on their own account. Hence the trade remained what it had been for many years overstocked by small masters. And as a result finding customers was a problem, especially when it was estimated that two-thirds of the poorer classes bought their bread not from bakers but from the provision shops.[187]

In 1841 there were some 221 firms operating in the baking trade in Edinburgh. By 1871 that figure had risen to 328, and by 1901 stood at 416.[188] This expansion, in the main, was the result of growth in the small master sector of the trade. An understanding of the size of the average unit of production is available from the 1851 census. Of 162 bakers giving information as to the number of persons employed, fully 88.3 per cent employed from one to five individuals. Moreover, 98.1 per cent employed between one and ten employees.[189] In 1871 among 187 baking firms the average unit of production consisted of four employees.[190]

A feature of the trade was the intense competition leading to the practice of 'under-selling'. This had remained an issue throughout the nineteenth-century. As early as 1836 in Edinburgh a committee to fix the price of bread was formed. The Edinburgh Bread Committee formed in that year consisted of thirty-three masters, twenty-six representing the masters of Edinburgh and seven the masters of Leith. The Committee met monthly to regulate the price of bread and to discuss other matters of importance to the trade. In 1892 this committee was still in existence. Despite the existence of such committees the practice appears to have remained widespread, and in 1900 the Master Baker was still calling for a national association to effect price regulation.[191]

In the early 1860s it was suggested that the trade as a whole offered little profitable reward to men of capital to undertake the revolution of its operations. The perishable quality of the product prohibited stocking and warehousing and this together with the extremely localised market for bread were said to be further factors inhibiting large capital investment. Writing of the structure of the trade in 1862, Tremenheere, one of the factory inspectorate, reported that 'there is probably no branch or trade supplying a vast and constant demand which has so completely remained in the primitive condition of ministering to that demand from a multitude of small and isolated sources as the baking trade.'[192] Technological

innovation had made little advance in a trade dominated by hand labour. However, in 1859 Dr. Dalgleish's invention of the aerated bread making process allowed for development and the utilisation of steam power. The costs involved in adopting Dalgleish's patent ensured that it would be available only to those with large capital outlay.

Steam power was in use in the trade in Edinburgh by 1876 on a small scale.[193] Here again, as with other trades, this had not entailed the elimination of the small masters. But by 1892 a few large scale enterprises in baking had emerged in Edinburgh. Including J. W. MacKie and Sons, which employed fourteen males, twenty females, two clerks, thirteen shop assistants, five apprentices and six boys, a total of sixty employees. Largerstill was the baking and confectionery firm of William Crawford and Sons, employing sixty-four males, forty-nine females and seventy-one apprentices, altogether one hundred and eighty four employees.[194] It was stated that MacKie's had used steam machinery for upwards of forty years prior to 1892.[195]

The arrival of these larger firms did not succeed in eliminating small master production. An investigation by local authority inspectors in 1895 found some 246 small bakehouses working in the city.[196] The major threat from the larger firms was increasing competition and the increase of retail outlets tied to these. However, the small master bakers could continue to compete in terms of price by the

sweating of the labour force. This was particularly true in the area of family labour and self exploitation which escaped legislation on working hours.[197] Moreover, the perishable quality of the products and the localised market continued to provide a niche for the small master.

To some extent the small masters were affected more by the changes taking place in the supply side of the baking industry. In the area of milling where bakers were umbilically linked for their supplies there had been substantial developments which had virtually wiped out the small mill owners in favour of the factory. This transformation was already accomplished in Edinburgh by mid-century. In 1853 the Edinburgh News recorded the changes 'whereby capital has already put forth its irresistable arm, and mechanical ingenuity has followed in its footsteps. We have only to turn from the old mills at the Water of Leith to the new mills at Haymarket to observe the remarkable change the process has now undergone.'[198] The old water mills were superceded by steam powered machinery. The result was a reduction in the number of mills and a greater dependency by the small master bakers on a few large suppliers.

The extent to which the small master bakers were dependent on large capital suppliers was conditional on their ties through credit. Burnett argues that the vast majority of small masters were in 'debt or otherwise "tied" to a capitalist miller or flour factor.'[199] Many rose

little above the journeymen. In 1869 the Bakers' Record admitted that 'the baking trade is not the prosperous one which it is supposed to be, that it is a life and death struggle carried on by its members for the benefit of an ungrateful public, and that in the struggle, while a few continue to exist - not live - the many find their way through the Bankruptcy Court, and end their lives as inmates of almhouses, or as parish paupers, dare we be bold enough to conjure up to our vision the ten-fold worse condition of the men.'[200]

The baking industry during the nineteenth-century was centred around a somewhat uniquely localised market largely as a result of the perishable nature of the products. It was perhaps this fact more than any other that accounted for the survival of small master production. Though a very few large firms emerged in Edinburgh their impact was limited on the overall structure of the trade. Indeed price competition between small masters was probably of greater concern than any competitive threat from the large employers. Neither in an industry localised in character was there room for the organisational intervention of merchant capital on any substantial scale or controlling influence. Small master bakers maintained a bespoke orientated working existence. But their supposed independence is again questionable in the light of their dependency on credit extended by the suppliers of raw materials, mostly the flour milling companies.

These separate small studies have shown the persistence of small master production in a number of industries varying in type and structure in nineteenth century Edinburgh. The Edinburgh experience was not distinctly unique.[201] Technological development was uneven in character and whilst in some industries it certainly displaced small master production, in others, it created fresh opportunities. Where technological development was particularly slow small master production was the typical unit of production, and here the building, tailoring and shoemaking industries were good examples. Yet even when technology had made an impact leading to factory production, for example in printing, small masters were able to maintain a co-existence, albeit an uneasy one based on sweated and apprentice labour.

Much attention has generally focussed on the centralising power of industrial capital in displacing and absorbing smaller capitals. In the case of the small masters the above studies have in addition pointed to the over-arching and transforming power of merchant capital. Whilst leaving production small scale, it organised it to the extent of providing for the needs of an expanding national market. In doing so it subordinated the small capital of the masters to its own use, leaving them nominally in control of their tools and workshops but retaining the final product for its control. Far from being independent the relationship was more exploitative, as Frederick Engels noted:

> By taking the little master into his service, he broke through the traditional bonds of production within which the producer sold his finished product and nothing else. The merchant capitalist bought the labour-power, which still owned its production instruments but no longer the raw material. By thus guaranteeing the weaver regular employment, he could depress the weaver's wages to such a degree that a part of the labour-time furnished remains unpaid for. The contractor thus became an appropriator of surplus-value over and above his commercial profit. Admittedly, he had to employ additional capital to buy yarn etc. And leave it in the weaver's hands until the article for which he formerly had to pay the full price only upon purchasing it was finished.[202]

The relationship between merchant capital and the small masters needs to be more fully understood. The studies here because of their local nature have only touched on questions rather than provided in depth analysis. They are nonetheless a starting point for further research.

SMALL MASTER ORGANISATION

In contrast to the shopkeepers there were few attempts to mobilise the community of small master producers in defence of economic interests against large capital, either on a trade or inter-trade basis. There was little effective campaigning against a bourgeoisie that in part threatened the very existence of this community. Small masters did of course play a significant part in the

political mobilisation of masters and artisans in the pre 1850 period. They were active in the Painite campaigns for democracy, Owenite Socialism, Chartism and petit bourgeois Radicalism.[203] Within the ideology of these movements there was much that was anti-middle class, anti-aristocracy. At the trade level there was little evidence of a collective economic consciousness in defence of common interests. Contrasting developments in Europe, Crossick has argued that in Britain the absence of a guild structure, which had all but disappeared in Britain by 1800, removed an effective organisational means of defending the crafts, the status of the small masters, and not least their economic interests.[204] Yet this can only be a partial explanation of a more complex process, and as seen below the guild structure still retained a presence in Edinburgh up until the 1840s. Crossick singles out the German experience for special consideration, but he may not be comparing like with like. For historical and political configurations make direct comparison difficult. The mobilisation of the German petite bourgeoisie coincided with the industrial revolution in that country during the last decades of the nineteenth century. This period witnessed the maximum mobilisation of the class. In Britain a similar period of maximum mobilisation occurred in the last decades of the eighteen and early decades of the nineteenth century. It is these periods that are more directly comparable than the comparison between late nineteenth century Britain and Germany.

In Edinburgh the trade incorporations in the Royalty existed, though some nominally, at least until 1840, and many continued beyond this date as insurance and benefit institutions for the membership. Their existence was to maintain the monopoly of right to trade in the Royalty conferred by charter. In addition the incorporation controlled apprenticeship. As well as instilling independence, respectability and craft pride they acted as proto-employers organisations.

It was Adam Smith who noted that 'we rarely hear of the combinations of masters, though frequently of those of workmen. But whoever imagines, upon this account, that masters rarely combine is as ignorant of the world as of the subject.'[205] The historical evidence of the existence of master associations is to say the least patchy. This was despite the legacy of organisation left by the incorporated trades of the Royalty of Edinburgh.[206] Employers found association difficult they ranged, as in printing, from the large capitalist enterprise to the small master. Each produced a wide, and different, range of products, or services, their interests could never be completely the same, while many masters were ex-members of unions and sympathetic to their claims. Where association did exist there is reason to believe that they were dominated by the interests of large capital.[207] Nonetheless they could provide a vehicle for the aims and defence of small master interests. Overall for much of the century

association was infrequent, often masters came together for a single purpose, perhaps to defend a wage claim, and then would disband the formal links. But as Smith noted there probably existed an informal network within the trades.

In Edinburgh the guild system seems to have maintained an existence longer than elsewhere.[208] At the turn of the nineteenth-century individual incorporated trades included the wrights, masons, goldsmiths, skinners, furriers, hammermen, tailors, bakers, fleshers, cordwainers, websters, caulkers and bonnet makers.[209] In addition to the individual trades there were incorporations uniting a number of trades. For example in 1832 the Incorporation of St. Mary's Chapel in the Canongate had a membership, which included forty-seven masons, eighty-one wrights, fifty-three painters, twelve glaziers, fourteen plumbers, ten slaters, three coopers and two bowyers.[210]

Within the Royalty the incorporations acted as employer organisations. They regulated apprenticeship and negotiated wages and conditions with journeymen. In addition they acted to preserve their monopoly of trading rights and pursued policies of restricting entry to their number. Moreover, they saw themselves as protectors of their crafts and status.[211] The passing of the Reform Bill (Scotland) in 1833 led ultimately to the abolition of the exclusive privileges of trading in Royal Burghs. This

was finally accomplished by act of Parliament in 1846.[212] The weight of bourgeois political economy was enough to ensure their downfall but not without a protracted campaign.

The privileges of the trades were jealously guarded and the force of law used to protect them when necessary. In the period 1824-1832 St. Mary's Chapel undertook eighteen prosecutions against outsiders practising their trade within the 'liberties'.[213] In response to a Government commission on the privileges of the trades the membership informed the commissioners 'that the privileges continue to be enforced as formerly,' if abolition was to ensue it would be 'exceedingly injurious to their pecuniary interest.'[214] In 1837 the Incorporation of Tailors insisted on bringing prosecutions against 'stallengers', and in particular against those who had been admitted to trade on payment of a yearly sum and who had fallen behind with their payments.[215] Similarly, the Incorporation of Cordiners in 1843 raised court actions against Thomas Lindsay, James Reid and John Wright for infringing the rights of the incorporation.[216]

The exclusive privileges came under attack from two areas. Firstly from bourgeois political economy that espoused free trade, and secondly from a body of small masters eager to make their way in the business world and hampered by petty restrictions from doing so. Thus in 1837 the Scotsman, commenting on the activities of the Incorporated

Tailors, concluded that the 'wisest thing the incorporation could do, is at once to throw up their alleged authority, and leave every workman in the unmolested exercise of his industry.'[217] In the same newspaper in 1840 a letter signed 'A Friend to Free Trade' argued that the incorporations had long held 'their brother tradesmen in bondage'. The unfree petite bourgeoisie were forced to pay fines or face legal proceedings. Little profit was made if most went on rent to the incorporations. High entrance fees ensured the exclusivity of the incorporations and resulted in many small masters settling for less profitable workshops on the outskirts of Town.[218]

By 1843 the growing opposition succeeded in bringing a motion to the Town Council, moved by Councillor Wright, a petit bourgeois radical. Wright moved that:

> So far from extending the privileges of the incorporated trades, they ought rather to abridge them, seeing the tyrannical manner in which they prosecute every person not of their incorporations who tried to make an honest livelihood within the burgh.

Remarkably perhaps the motion was lost eighteen votes to nine.[219]

One week after the defeat of Wright's motion a petition from a number of shopkeepers in the High Street and Cowgate was placed before the Town Council, demanding that it cease

granting privileges to the sons of members of the incorporated trades, who automatically received freemen status and the privileges that went with it.[220] The desired aim was to end the perpetuation of the privileges passing from father to son. In July 1844 a 'large and influential meeting' of the non freemen in the city passed resolutions calling for the abolition of the privileges of the incorporations.[221] Wright, was again active on behalf of the small masters on the Town Council. He succeeded in getting the Council to instruct its representatives on the Royal Convention of Burgh's to take steps to secure the abolition of privileges.[222] And in December 1844 the Council agreed to petition the Government to take steps for the abolition of the privileges of the incorporated trades.[223]

An association of the Non-Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh had been formed in September 1844.[224] Though in September 1845 a further attempt was made to form an association on the initiative of John Gulland, baker. Gulland was elected chairman and undertook the task of instigating a national campaign. As a baker he had long paid rent for the privilege of trading in the High Street.[225] In January 1846 the Town Council agreed to, on application from the Non-Freemen's Association, Memorialise Government to petition Parliament for the abolition of the privileges of the incorporated trades.[226] Edinburgh's bourgeoisie also gave weight to the free trade movement in the city when the Chamber of Commerce also declared itself in favour of

abolition.[227] Later that year the privileges of the incorporations were abolished, leaving them to continue as almost purely benefit and insurance associations.

The importance of the incorporations lay in the organisational model they presented to the masters. They had represented economic interests and acted as proto-employers associations often regulating apprenticeship and bargaining over wages and conditions. Yet they were an anachronism in a world that frowned upon monopoly and favoured free trade. However, despite the model of combination, based on monopoly privilege, many masters may have mistrusted the whole idea of association seeing in this steps that would result in further monopoly.

The development of the capitalist mode of production in the nineteenth-century had not eliminated the small master class. Though it certainly altered the conditions of its existence. The transition to machine industry in many of the trades under discussion was a slow one, occupying nearly half-a-century. Because of this there never really appeared an opposition of small masters on any significant scale to such developments and to large capitalists in particular. In some respects there is an obvious contrast with the shopkeepers who appeared more capable of organisation.[228] Individuals did of course make their opposition known from time to time.

In accordance with our knowledge of Edinburgh the economy of the city was in part distinguished by the absence of factory production, which was often an important symbol of the presence of a large capitalist class and the prevailing social relationship between small master producers and the bourgeoisie. The workshop economy continued, despite divergence of size, to the extent that masters might feel an affinity with each other. The more so when considering the importance of the existence of the working class. Whilst small masters were often mere out workers for larger concerns and merchants, they nonetheless were the immediate employers of labour. They had a vested interest in maintaining the upper hand in the struggle over wages and conditions. Their return was based on what they were paid by the large concern, factor or contractor, less the wage bill. They found it easy to identify with the large concern as employers. And difficult to interpret their own economic relationships, often verging on the exploitative, as both employer and employee.

The existence of employers associations can only be gleamed from the sporadic references in newspapers and trade journals. From the evidence it would appear that a number of associations were in being during the nineteenth-century. To what extent these organisations may have reflected the views of the small masters is not entirely clear. Yet in some associations small masters probably formed a substantial part of the membership.

In 1830 there existed the Master Boot and Shoemakers Association which that year published a common wages scale for the different types of work done by the journeymen.[229] Other evidence points to the existence of a Master Tailors Association.[230] Employing interests at this early date often combined on singular issues, usually to defeat the claims of the journeymen, and then disbanded. In 1845 attempts by the journeymen sawyers in Edinburgh to form a union amongst themselves and to institute a revised scale of prices was met by a combined lock out of the masters comprising wood merchants, cabinet makers, and master carpenters. Over seventy masters signed a declaration published in the Scotsman indicating their opposition to the proposed union and wage increase.[231]

The Edinburgh and Leith Master Painter's Association was constituted in 1857.[232] From 1861, if not before, there was an association of employers from 'all sections' of the building trade.[233] However, association was more likely to be built around a single interest group or trade. By 1879 present in the city was the Edinburgh and Leith Master Builders' Association, and the Edinburgh and Leith Master Plumbers' Association.[234] The Master Builders' Association enjoyed a lengthy existence, and had been open to amalgamation. In 1898 it was stated that eighteen years previously it had a membership of approximately sixty composed wholly of masons. Presently they had a membership of over 170, but had during the period

amalgamated with the joiners and plumbers.[235] The number of members adds weight to the view that a substantial proportion were small masters.

The larger masters generally were influential in the associations. In 1890 the Edinburgh Master Boot and Shoemakers' Association had as its President John Smart, the Secretary and Treasurer was Patrick Marshall. The organising committee was made up of these two individuals plus Charles Allan, Thomas Lugton, John Bell and Lauchlan Duff. Allan and Lugton were two of the leading employers in the city.[236] Two years later the association decided to disband. At the Annual Meeting held on March 1, 1892, the members felt that 'the association was not likely to result in any good, and that their position in regard to the men would be more honourable and satisfactory to themselves if disunited.' At the meeting the members present and the officers resigned.

The accumulated funds stood at 4s and 9d and it was decided that this be spent on a 'fish supper at the Marine Hotel, Newhaven, on Friday, March 11 at 6.30 p.m.'[237] Charles Allan, who was not present at the meeting, objected strongly to the course of action planned and insisted that a special meeting be called.[238] Whether that meeting was called we do not know. However, by 1896 the Edinburgh Bootmakers Employers' Association had been formed, possibly replacing the former association.[239] In addition there

was in existence at this time an Edinburgh Hand-Sewing Boot and Shoemakers' Association.[240]

Such associations were predominantly local in character and organisation. However, it was possible to note a few attempts to form national bodies in the producing trades. In 1899 the Scottish Furniture Manufacturers Association was formed, representing the interests of large manufacturers and 'small workshops employing less than four men.'[241] In tailoring, the Master Tailors Association of Edinburgh, was affiliated nationally at least by 1892.[242] At its annual dinner in 1897, the Edinburgh Branch of the Master Tailors' Association of Great Britain stated that it 'existed for men in a small way of trade as well as great and powerful traders.'[243]

As well as national association, proposals were made regarding the possibility of uniting associations in neighbouring cities. This was particularly true in regard to the master bootmakers of Edinburgh and Newcastle. In 1890 Charles Carter, Honorary Secretary, of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Master Boot and Shoemakers' Association wrote to the Edinburgh association on the subject of amalgamating the societies for the purpose of 'mutual benefit and protection, in case of a demand for increased wages, or other disputes with the workmen, leading to a strike.' Carter further proposed that they inquire amongst other associations their views on amalgamation.[244] In 1919 a

proposal was received in Edinburgh from the West End Master Bootmakers Association of London, calling for a Federation of the Hand Sewn Bootmakers Association in the United Kingdom, and was addressed to Allan and Sons the leading shoemakers in the city.[245]

Within the letter the basis of such a Federation was outlined. Firstly, it would allow the trade to be eligible for representation on the Board of Trade. Secondly, they could obtain Government recognition of aims and interests by collective action. Thirdly, they could disseminate general information amongst associations, more especially in regard to wages and the relationship between employer and workmen. Lastly in the event of a strike taking place in any one town no undertaking was to be given by member branches to call a lock-out of the trade in any other town.[246] Thus a lever on the decision making process of government and effective action against workers were seen as the main planks of the proposed association. The men from Edinburgh replied that they were willing to consider such proposals if they could be evolved to be of general use.[247]

Small masters then rarely organised in defence of economic interests facing them as a class. They found it difficult to divorce their interests from those of the large employers. As employers of labour they found it easy to identify with large employers over wages and conditions of work. Moreover,

while there was often a realisation of the exploitative power of merchant capital this failed to transform itself into any movement of interests. The commercial transaction surrounding sub-contract in all its guises, blurred the reality of the power relationship between merchant and producers. On the surface producers appeared as independent individuals with few articulating the nature of their dependency on merchant capital. Caught between capital and labour small masters were active agents in the process of class struggle. As employers in Edinburgh they constituted a sizeable majority, and as a result they were involved in industrial conflict which broke out from time to time. It is a theme to which the thesis turns later.[248]

CHAPTER VI

THE POLITICS OF THE PETITE BOURGEOISIE: ONE, PARLIAMENTARY

This chapter is concerned with politics at the parliamentary level. Political activity that is depicted as national in orientation was nevertheless the product of local conditions.[1] Such conditions shaped political formations, and were different for different towns and cities in nineteenth century Britain. The experience of community and socio-economic environment influenced the form and direction of political behaviour. Concern and analysis here is with the political behaviour of the politically conscious petite bourgeoisie. At times the small masters exhibit a kind of chameleon like ability to adjust, and survive, the political changes around them; never dominating the political scene but always in the background. The chapter is less about the politics of Edinburgh in national terms but more about the place and contribution of the petite bourgeoisie to the political structure and formation in that city.

By emphasising the centrality of the small masters there is a necessary bias towards the pre-1850 period. The mid-century point marks a watershed in the politics of the small men.[2] Before that date there is an identifiable political movement based on the aspirations of small masters to establish petit bourgeois democracy. As a movement it founded itself on a populist outlook with small property often at the head.[3] The politics of radicalism contained within it the ideology of the small men. Shopkeepers independent master craftsmen and artisans formed a radical political alternative to elite ideology; whether Whig or Tory.[4] At the root of this ideology was the notion of petit bourgeois democracy. As Thompson notes the men of small property in the early nineteenth century 'took the doctrine . . . of absolute political democracy . . . to the extreme . . . . In times of enthusiasm, they were the hard centre of a movement which drew the support of thousands of small shopkeepers of printers and booksellers, medical men, schoolmasters, engravers, small masters, and dissenting clergy at one end; and of porters, coal-heavers, labourers, soldiers and sailors at the other'.[5] Moreover, this Radical-democratic tradition was important for its contribution to emergent working-class politics, as Hobsbawm notes 'From this tradition the British labour movement derives some of its most important organisational devices: the pamphlet, the working-class newspaper, the petition to Parliament, the public meeting and public debate; also, of course, what little interest it takes in theory'.[6]

Edinburgh had been the centre of a radical tradition, that derived much of its ideology from Tom Paine. The city had been the seat of organisation for the Friends of the People.[7] The activists in this organisation were drawn from the petite bourgeoisie.[8] However, when the opportunity arose in Edinburgh after the 'Great Reform Act' of 1832, for the Radical tradition to make its presence felt, it fundamentally failed to do so. For the politics of Radicalism had to compete with a vibrant Whig campaign that claimed to have rescued the city and its people from an entrenched Toryism. Edinburgh had been exemplary as a city of 'Old Corruption'. The 'Thing' in Edinburgh saw a self perpetuating Town Council as the sole arbiters of electing the parliamentary representation. That representation fell to the Honourable William Dundas, whose politics were solidly Tory. An entrenched Toryism in the city was important in sustaining the radicalism of the small masters. But it also allowed the Whigs to portray themselves as emancipators. There were early indications of growing petit bourgeois opposition to Dundas. For example in 1820, on his re-election to the representation of the city, three of the Deacons of the Trades, who by their office were also members of the Town Council, Sawers, Morham and Paterson declined to vote as a protest against Dundas' opposition to reform.[9]

This growing opposition amongst small property in Edinburgh was also aimed at the power and privilege of the elite in

Edinburgh. This elite was based around professional wealth; notably the legal profession. The 'Lawyer Clique' was also singled out for the freedom from church taxation, in the form of an annuity tax, it enjoyed.[10] In 1851 Duncan McLaren, previously a draper, and by then substantial merchant, and champion of the nascent Liberal party summed up the resentment in the city that had grown over the first fifty years of the nineteenth century. In evidence before a Government Select Committee on the Annuity Tax he stated:

> In Edinburgh the Aristocracy are the lawyers; they occupy the highest rented houses and they are exempted; they are the parties who chiefly remain in the Established Church. The poor, and what have been called the shopocracy, have almost all left the church; the effect therefore is that the annuity tax is levied in Edinburgh on the poorer classes to support an establishment for the rich.[11]

The professional elite in Edinburgh was thus identified as largely Tory, of the Established church, and was seen as the basis of power and privilege in the city. If the plot was cast with aristocratic privilege identified with 'Old Corruption' and domination of the city, it was the politically conscious petite bourgeoisie that ultimately formed the basis of any opposition to this group. The Whig Tory divide was essentially based on a division between sections of ruling class interests. With the coming of reform the Whigs legitimated their claims to power by appealing to the new electorate of small property.

By so doing they sought to create a power base within the ranks of small property. Whilst petit bourgeois Radicalism was openly critical of the Whigs, the Whigs nevertheless gained a measure of support from small property in the city sufficient to allow them to dominate parliamentary politics in the second quarter of the century.

In the political setting after 1832 the politics of small property are best seen in a basic dichotomous framework. Firstly, there was the politics of the Radical democratic tradition that espoused the values of individualism and independence, and asserted the worth of every individual labourer. This popular democratic tradition continued to influence the views of a section of the small masters. Secondly, there was the politics that resulted from the hegemonic influence of dominant interests.[12] In Edinburgh in particular those interests were built around Whig and Liberal Oligarchies. However, both were mutually interactive and the petite bourgeoisie in the last resort helped shape their own political destiny. The petite bourgeoisie were the spearheads of political Radicalism, but at the same time they formed the target for dominant class interest groups. For with the growth of Bourgeois democracy which had invested a real measure of power in small property, courtesy of the franchise, there was a corresponding need for ruling class interests to receive the legitimising support of small property, to maintain

their power bases.[13] The strength of the ruling class won through and majority opinion amongst small property in Edinburgh gave support to the Whig and then the Liberal interest.

Beginning with the politics of Radicalism in the period after the Great Reform Act of 1832, this chapter examines the political fortunes, and direction, of petit bourgeois politics against the background of Radicalism, Whiggism, Chartism, the Anti-Corn Law Movement, the struggle to extend the franchise, the opposition to the Annuity Tax, the rise of Liberalism and finally the onset of Labourism. Of fundamental concern to the politically aware small masters was the question of democracy; and as Heighton put it 'the Ballot is his God, and through his influence it will sooner or later be carried, for he must strive for liberty against the bondage of an obligation to those on whom he lives'.[14] It was strongly felt that political economic and religious oppression could be ended by the power of democracy vested in the people. That commitment to democracy underlies much of petit bourgeois political thinking, at least in the first half of the nineteenth century.

PETITE BOURGEOIS RADICALISM

Stockbridge and Jamaica Street now will outface

> The gentry of King Street, and proud Moray Place,
> All under the Bill and the Franchise so low.
> See what thousands the Cowgate and Cannongate
> Send; what swarms from the Bow, and Grassmarket unkenned,
> Burke's corner, Mainpoint, Potterow, and the Vennel,
> Voting under the Bill and the Franchise so low .[15]

Such was the enthusiasm that greeted the reform legislation of 1832. Confident were the predictions that the petite bourgeoisie in the Stockbridge area together with the petit bourgeois and working-class strongholds in the Old Town would carry all in their path. Petit bourgeois radicalism saw its chance to establish a popular democracy, thus ending the rule of the urban 'gentry'. In March 1833, the correspondent for Tait's Edinburgh Magazine the leading radical journal in Edinburgh, argued that:

> We are not of that class of the friends of the people, who, under the name people, include only a very small portion of the nation. The people is the whole body of our countrymen; it is their general welfare we seek, and assuredly cannot be promoted, by creating jealousy and hostility between various sections of this great whole. [16]

This is a classic statement of the democratic petite bourgeoisie. The small masters view society as divided between 'the people' and 'the oppressors'. Politics is seen as a contest between the rights of the people and reaction. Moreover, they hold the view that small property and propertyless labourers have essentially the same political interests, and argue that it is an error to split the people into different hostile camps.[17] The ambitions of this politically aspirant section of the

petit bourgeois community in Edinburgh, to be successful, rested on majority support and enfranchisement. However, the radicals could not claim to speak for the petite bourgeoisie as a whole. In 1832, in A Letter to the Independent Electors of Edinburgh, On the Representation of the City, the author, 'shopkeeper', was less enthusiastic over the 'people'. There was no plea for universal suffrage. Though the payment of M.P.'s was canvassed on the grounds that they would better serve the interests of those they represented 'shopkeeper', was more concerned with bread and butter issues; the partial allocation of the annuity tax and poors' money in particular. Those elected would be expected to act for the removal of these grievances. Of the two M.P.'s for the city, 'shopkeeper' asked that one be chosen from the 'eminent Scottish Bar' and the other to represent the 'mercantile' interests of the city. Which no doubt included the interests of the retail petite bourgeoisie.[18]

Thus there was a hint of economism guiding the political activity of the petite bourgeoisie. Indeed, such a view was consistent with political activity in local government.[19] Yet the approach of the petite bourgeoisie in Edinburgh was more cautious than Radical in their attitude to economics, to the extent, that political radicalism rarely combined with economic radicalism. This was clear from the reception accorded to the economic ideas of Thomas Attwood. Attwood's economic doctrine for currency reform,

found support elsewhere in the ranks of small property.[20] In Edinburgh, however, his plan for currency depreciation was depicted as one 'for the confiscation of private property'. William Cobbett, the horseback hero of the small producer, argued that the plan was to enact that sixpence was now to be one shilling, and only the man who owed a shilling previously, would now benefit by paying only sixpence.[21]

The run up to the reform legislation of 1832 witnessed demonstrations in the city numbering upwards of ten thousand.[22] The net result was to prove disappointing to the working-classes, and to the politically active 'middling-class'.[23] Petit bourgeois radicalism was disturbed by the 1832 settlement and the failure to establish the franchise for 'the people'; as they defined it. Tait's, spoke of the 'disgust' felt by the advocates of Radical reform and argued that 'even the middle-classes though not easily roused to take an active part in political movements are in motion'.[24] Despite this conviction of betrayal the small men in Edinburgh were given the chance to voice their opinion in the election of 1834.

In the parliamentary election of 1834, James Aytoun, advocate, stood as the radical candidate for the city of Edinburgh. Table 6.1 shows a breakdown of the voting for Aytoun by economic grouping.[25]

Table 6.1: Occupations Voting for James Aytoun, 1834

Occupations	Votes	Aytoun	% Vote	% Aytoun Vote
Professions	2036	53	2.5	11.0
Retailers	2158	185	8.4	38.1
Whitecollar	414	14	3.5	3.0
Labourers	132	12	9.0	2.5
Craftsmen/ Manufacturers	2199	195	8.9	40.3
Miscellaneous	809	22	2.8	4.5
	7748	481		99.4

Source: J. C. Williams, 'Edinburgh Politics: 1832-1852', (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh, 1972) appendix iv.

Aytoun received only 481 votes, representing just over 6 per cent of the total electorate, but as only 3,813 votes were actually cast he received 12.5 per cent of the vote. Nonetheless, the bulk of his support came from the petite bourgeoisie with the retailers and craftsmen/manufacturers together accounting for 78.4 per cent of those voting for him. It was a poor showing. Aytoun had declared himself to have 'been called to the field, I repeat, by the Independent party of Edinburgh - by that party who have nothing in common with the two great factions which divide the state, the Whigs and the Tories'.[26] Further, he favoured triennial parliaments, an extension of the suffrage, free trade, abolition of pensions and sinecures, complete separation of church and state and abolition of the annuity tax.[27]

Table 6.2: Breakdown of Voting by District, 1834

District	Campbell	Learmouth	Aytoun
Grassmarket	193	111	127
Fountainwell	151	83	55
Blenheim Place	92	70	18
St. David Street	220	150	30
London Street	170	161	21
St. Vincent Street	116	140	10
St. George's Church	116	167	18
Davy Street	201	86	81
George Square	219	95	55
Bread Street	166	142	32
Canonmills	288	197	33
	1932	1402	480

Source: List of the Electors of Edinburgh, 1832, (EPL).

The district pattern of voting, in table 6.2, reveals that Aytoun did proportionately better in the Old Town districts of the city than the New Town. This reflected the fact that the Old Town remained a far greater centre of residence for small masters and the artisan working-class. Hence the showing of Aytoun's vote in the Grassmarket in particular. Foster in his work on Oldham argued that working-class pressure was often brought to bear on the small master retailers by the threat of withdrawal of custom. In one sense this view was correct, pressure was seen to be applied, forcing, or demanding, shopkeepers to vote in a certain manner.[28] Yet what Foster forgets is the extent to which the radical petite bourgeoisie sought to provide the leadership in radical

movements including Chartism, which was far more complex than simply the expression of working class political consciousness. The formation of Chartist ideology had its roots in petit bourgeois democratic thinking.[29] On the other hand it would be wrong to ignore pressure on the petite bourgeoisie, especially from those above them in rank and power. It was not without reason that an editorial in the Scotsman, in December 1837, on the secret ballot spoke of the relief such a system would have for the 'petty shopkeepers' and put an end to the grievance that customers took away their custom as a result of inspecting the poll books to see how their shopkeepers had voted.[30] Moreover, there may too have been an element of deference, the result of an unwillingness to bite the hand that fed them. In 1832 the Ten Pounder, warned its readers that:

> Again, political agitation is injurious to the poor man, by the effect it produces on the rich, from whom his employment proceeds. The rich are always alarmed at the thought of great and sudden political change. They become afraid of their property - they refuse to spend money - they dismiss their servants - give up employing their tradesmen - spend less in clothes and furniture, in living and in travelling - limit themselves to half their income . . . . The consequence is, that the baker, the butcher, the grocer, the builder, the mason, the painter, the wright, the tailor, and every other tradesman who lives by supplying the wants and luxuries of the community, feel deeply this limitation of expenditure on the part of their customers; and a general distress, want of employment, and want of money, spread over the whole country.[31]

The fact of client dependency was not lost on the petite bourgeoisie. The fear of economic upheaval and the withdrawal of customer patronage acted as a break on the more politically ambitious among the class.

In accounting for the relatively poor showing of Aytoun the above point was obviously important. Aytoun claimed to be the candidate of the 'middling-class, - of that class which is perhaps the most intelligent and respectable of any'.[32] The men of that class, argued Aytoun, 'would be revolutionary in their views, but at the same time they had everything to lose and nothing to gain by the act of revolution itself'.[33] When it came to the test the middling-class all but deserted him in favour of the Whig candidate Sir John Campbell. Campbell was not slow to raise the spectre of revolution. He warned that if the citizens of Edinburgh wanted 'anarchy and revolution' then a vote for Aytoun was a vote for these.[34] At the same time the Whigs played on the Dundas-Tory legacy and argued that they were the alternative to the evil that had gone before. The triumph of the Whigs was such that with the exception of 1834, when the Tory, Learmouth, was elected and 1847 when the Liberal, Charles Cowan, was elected, they dominated parliamentary politics in the city in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The potential strength of the petite bourgeoisie, as a whole, which they possessed in the franchise remained until the mid-century period subservient to Whiggism. When that

politic was eventually challenged, the challenge was led by the emergent Liberal party.

The petit bourgeois radicals had hoped to establish a system of democracy that would have incorporated the working-classes. It was to be the establishment of petit bourgeois democracy that would ensure the survival of small master society. Born in the Painite era, continuing through to Owenism, this ideology reached the grave with the onset of Chartism. Yet, it was not just a question of gaining the support of the working-classes. For at the back of the petit bourgeois mind was the question of how best to contain that latent mass strength that might erupt and prove so damaging to those with a stake in property; however small. Hence the emphasis placed upon education by the Radicals, who argued that the first duty of the reformed parliament was to establish a system of national education; stretching from primary to university level. Education in democracy was the way to curb the abuse of power by government:

> One of the first and most important results from a general and well directed education of the people, would be a practical understanding by the many, of this great distinction existing in the various ills to which their lot is subject. They would learn what they could by their own fore-thought and prudence remedy, and what they could not. They would become docile and patient citizens under a good government, while they would be irresistable enemies to a bad one. We would have no wild cries against machinery, no stupid burning of ricks, no sturdy and overgrown pauper population.35

Both Whig and Tory were identified as the parties of power and privilege by the Radicals.[36] By 1841 the Radical party laid the blame for the Whig successes squarely on the working-classes. This was something of a paradox given that the vast majority of the working-class remained dis-enfranchised. However, it was argued that the 'Whig aristocracy went down on its knees to working-class power and petitioned acceptance as its champion. Working class power complied, and has been diddled ever since'.[37] By implication, the support that the petite bourgeoisie required to implement the challenge for democracy was not forthcoming.

There is little doubt that Radicalism in Edinburgh, from the weighty days of the Edinburgh Political Union under the chairmanship of Aytoun, suffered a setback as a result of the poor showing of Aytoun in the parliamentary elections. By November 1836, however, a new association had been formed in the city. Calling itself the Edinburgh Radical Association, its aims were universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, equal representation, and no property qualification for M.P.'s. The first chairman was John Fraser, an ex-teacher, who was then employed as a commercial agent for Morrison's Pills. Fraser was later to found the <u>True Scotsman</u>, the leading Chartist newspaper in Scotland.[38]

As well as directing their efforts towards the national politic, the association was concerned with local issues. In March 1837 a campaign of opposition against the new Police Bill was launched. The legislation threatened to give authority to the Police Commissioners to create bye-laws, and to borrow the sum of £15,000 to provide a new police office, watch-houses and fire engine house.[39] Here is the element of economism within the petit bourgeois radicals, together with concern over the power of institutions outwith more democratic control. Underlying the radical critique of the association was also an element of religious dissent. This surfaced for example in June 1837 when the association petitioned the Town Council to take into 'their serious consideration the misapplication of the funds of the Morningside Lunatic Asylum'. The managers of the institution had recently voted monies for the erection of a kirk; as opposed to a chapel, perhaps.[40]

Within the short space of a year the policies of the Edinburgh Radical Association appeared to have changed. No longer was universal suffrage the main plank in the political platform. Instead, at a meeting in July 1837, it was moved that the Radical electors in the city support no candidate at the next election who refused to advocate triennial Parliaments; vote by ballot; household suffrage; and the 'speedy' and total repeal of the Corn Laws.[41] Thus the limited franchise extension of household suffrage had replaced universal suffrage. Moreover, the corn laws now

featured in the associations political demands. This was a more accommodationist stance designed to attract widespread support from the petite bourgeoisie and the established urban middle-class. In the event it hastened the development of Chartism in the city. Overall it reflected a change of emphasis amongst a section of the petit bourgeois Radicals into closer co-operation with sections of the middle-class as expressed in the growing anti-corn law lobby.

As if to emphasise the new direction a meeting of radicals on the Calton Hill, attended by some 2,000 persons, passed a motion calling for greater organisation in favour of 'household suffrage and the ballot'.[42] Whilst some radicals by their actions were moving away from mass working-class support, others moved closer to creating organisation more soundly based in the working-class. Fraser and other Radicals were soon to devote themselves to the Chartist cause. In May 1838 a meeting on the Calton Hill heard Mr. Collins of Birmingham develop a plan for organising the working-classes into a union for obtaining not household but universal suffrage. Amongst the speakers were Fraser and a Mr. Peddie, a small master staymaker in Edinburgh. Peddie, like Fraser, was to become an active and leading light in the Chartist movement.[43]

The issue which now confronted the Radicals was how best to approach the developing Chartist movement in the city.

Aytoun attempted to remain in the forefront of petit bourgeois Radical politics. In May 1839 he welcomed the right of the Chartists to have the franchise but warned them of 'selfish and interested leaders', who depended on 'keeping up a jealousy betwixt the industrious population and their natural allies the middling-classes', moreover that they 'would strive to encite one class against the other, and prevent them from joining together for one common end.' Aytoun as spokesman for the radical interest was anxious to retain working-class support; a support upon which rested ultimately the political ambitions of the petite bourgeoisie. At the same time Aytoun was careful to identify the seperate petit bourgeois interests from those of middle-class liberalism. He warned the people not to fall for 'the cuckoo cry' of 'don't injure the Liberal interest'.[44] Sharing the platform with Aytoun were William Tait, the Radical publisher, Joseph Hood Stott, formerly a pawnbroker, and then in business as a leather merchant, and R. W. Jamieson, Writer to the Signet. All gave their tacit support to the Chartist cause, and Stott took the opportunity, in true petit bourgeois Radical style, to attack the conduct of the 'Whig-Lawyer clique', and their betrayal of the fight for the suffrage.[45]

Within a week of this meeting John Fraser openly criticised Aytoun stating that he was not an 'out and out Radical'. Moreover, the Chartists in Edinburgh decided that their candidate should not be Aytoun but Sharman Crawford. When

Crawford declined the invitation to stand, no other candidate was brought forward.[46]

By 1839, it was clear that petit bourgeois Radicalism was divided over the direction it should take. A section within the Radicals retained their belief in popular democracy and this led them naturally to embrace Chartism. Others adopted more accommodationist positions which led to a variety of political associations: The Anti-Corn Law League; the Complete Suffrage Union; and the Edinburgh Financial Reform Association, were among the more important.

CHARTISM

Studies of the chartist movement have identified the contribution made by the petite bourgeoisie. Whether portrayed as the first awakening of independent working-class action, or the last fling of the radicalism of the small producers and artisans there is no mistaking the fact that a section of the petite bourgeoisie, and it is no more than this, were engaged in the movement; often forming part of the active leadership.[47] Chartism in Edinburgh became the leading focus of political activity based on universal suffrage. The extent of this activity, however, was not as pronounced as it was elsewhere.[48] Whilst towns such as Dundee and Paisley nominated chartist

candidates for election to municipal office no such activity took place in Edinburgh.[49] Though some ex-chartists were later to be elected to the town council as 'advanced' Liberals. To all extents therefore Chartism was very much a lukewarm affair. Yet in one sense that lukewarmness reflected the petit bourgeois involvement in the movement, whether as actors or onlookers.

The politically active leadership contained within its ranks men of petit bourgeois standing. John Duncan, a small shopkeeper and newsagent, was the leading figure in the Edinburgh and Midlothian Universal Suffrage Association. Though opposed to the actual use of force, Duncan countenanced it as a justifiable threat to secure demands.[50] William Glover, a druggist of St. Patrick Square, was active in the Chartist opposition to the Anti-Corn Law League.[51] John Grant, undertaker, was an active supporter of John Fraser, and was later to edit the pro-chartist newspaper the Weekly Express.[52] Fraser, as already noted, was a commercial agent. He had a history of radical activity and had been imprisoned after the 1819-20 radical agitation in the west of Scotland along with founding the Radical Association in Edinburgh, he helped set up the Teetotal Society.[53] The staymaker Robert Peddie was Edinburgh's first Chartist Martyr. After making good his escape from Edinburgh Peddie was apprehended in York, convicted of charges of sedition and conspiracy and imprisoned for three years in 1840.[54] These were but some of those petit bourgeois who played an active part in the

movement and have been recorded for posterity in the newspapers. Others gave their support in less dynamic ways. For example, tickets for a Grand Social Evening of the Edinburgh and Mid-Lothian Universal Suffrage Association were available from a number of small business premises, whose owners were probably strong sympathisers of the association; or even members. They included three confectioners, two tee-total coffee houses, and four news-rooms and periodical shops.[55] The Chartists in Edinburgh counted amongst their supporters W.S. Villiers who was elected to represent the city at the Chartist convention in 1839. Villiers was an accomplished Greek scholar, philologist, mathematician, astronomer and medical theorist.[56] Such men brought respectability to the movement.

What support the petite bourgeoisie had for chartism was largely based on the democratic ideals contained within the Charter; rather than for any radical restructuring of society which might threaten their stake in private property, however small. In 1839 a manifesto of the Chartist Convention appeared on the walls of buildings in Edinburgh. It called for the withdrawal of savings from banks and savings banks, for supporters, to convert all their paper money into gold, to abstain from all exciseable articles of luxury, to deal with supporters of the charter only, and to arm themselves as was their constitutional right.[57] The call to arms, and the call to exert pressure on small masters by the threat of withdrawing custom, was not

guaranteed to win the support of small property. Neither was the statement of Abram Duncan of Glasgow, an operative woodturner and Chartist spokesman, who advised his fellow chartists to:

> divide their towns and villages into districts, and take down the names of all shopkeepers who were opposed to the Charter, to deal with none of them for the smallest article . . . they would soon have plenty of Chartist shopkeepers, who would go the whole road for Universal Suffrage.[58]

Both Wilson and Foster have concluded that such pressure was not without success; from the Chartists' point of view.[59] The Chartists needed the support of the already enfranchised petite bourgeoisie, as much as the petit bourgeois radicals had required working-class support. In October 1839 the True Scotsman carried an attack on those Radicals who had not yet allied to the Chartist cause, lamenting the limitations of their outlook it stated: 'whilst the pitiful ignorance of that class sets them always a dreaming of spoilation, robbery, rapine, and the destruction of property, as are the consequences of enfranchising the people.'[60] The editors were in no doubt that the lot of small property was so petty that they had more to gain by the implementation of the Charter than they had to lose. Under an article entitled 'The Uneasy Classes', which was broadly the petite bourgeoisie together with those with a claim to status immédiately above the working-class, life was depicted thus:

that hundreds of respectable individuals-that is, persons decently dressed, and living by the exercise of some art above day labour - suffer, though in a less degree from deficient nourishment . . . . We are satisfied that at the back of these victims (most commonly females), there exist, even in the shopkeeping streets of the second order, in this metropolis whole families who maintain their position only by the most rigid privations . . . seeing the workhouse ever before their eyes, and suffering severely in their constitutions by depressing passions and over work .[61]

Recognition of this state of affairs was intended to reinforce the need for solidarity between the petite bourgeoisie and the working-class. In 1840 a new Radical association openly opposed to physical force stated that 'we think it our duty to adopt every step to unite the middle and working-classes together, so as to create a power adequate to effect those organic changes in the constitution which the alarming condition of the country requires'.[62] Whilst such sentiments had the tacit support of the True Scotsman, rapprochement continued to be hampered by the physical force element within Edinburgh Chartism. Few in the ranks of the small masters were willing to condone the tactic of violence, and as long as such action was a muted possibility Chartism continued to lose the support of the petite bourgeoisie.[63]

Fairly frequent meetings of Chartists in the city, were held between the peak years of activity 1838 to 1842. Meetings on Calton Hill were attended in their thousands.[64] Yet Chartism in Edinburgh failed to mount any effective

municipal or parliamentary election campaign to get Chartist representatives elected. Though various names of candidates were floated including Sharman Crawford,[65] Colonel Thompson, and Robert Lowery.[66] No candidate was nominated. By 1843 Julian Harney a future editor of the Northern Star, remarked that 'Chartism is shelved in Edinburgh. The body here have lost their hall of meeting, and are consequently unable to hold meetings without the certainty of being involved in debt. Faction has cut the throat of chartism in Edinburgh'.[67]

The physical versus moral force divide, together with trade recovery dampened the enthusiam for reform. Only briefly in the run up to the passing of the Poor Law Scotland Bill was there a semblance of activity.[68] However, as elsewhere, Chartist activity in the city flared again in 1848. In April of that year a meeting on the Calton Hill was attended by the largest Chartist demonstration seen in the city. Upwards of 20,000 people were present. The meeting was called to consider what action to take over the failure of the Town Council to support the resolutions of Councillor Joseph Hood Stott, petit bourgeois Radical and Chartist. Stott's resolutions called for universal suffrage; a condemnation of the Government and the House of Commons; and carried an attack on the upkeep of the established church. Stott was quick to dis sociate himself at the meeting of the Council from the call to arms, which was said to have been voiced at previous meetings of Chartists. In the voting on the

Council Stott received eight votes. A counter motion by the Lord Provost supporting the Government 'which will best protect the lives and property, and in the highest degree promote the peace and happiness of the community' received twenty-two votes. As a result the meeting on the Calton Hill called upon the chairman John Grant, then editor of the Weekly Express, to lead the meeting to the house of the Lord Provost to present a memorial deprecating the decision of the Council.[69]

At the same meeting Robert Hamilton, tailor, had urged upon those in attendance the necessity of arming themselves and purchasing a musket or a pike. Mr. Alexander MacDonald seconded the motion, which won the unanimous approval of the meeting.[70] Two weeks later a meeting of chartists in Adam Square Hall was called for the purpose of considering the propriety of 'forming a national guard for the protection of life and property'. A resolution calling for the formation of a guard 1600 strong, was carried by a large majority.[71] In June 1848 the Police attacked a procession of Chartists attempting to march from Leith Links through the city to Bruntsfield Links. The procession was forced to abandon, but a meeting on Bruntsfield Links was addressed by John Grant as chairman, and Robert Hamilton who renewed his call to arms.[72] Such inflamatory talk was not allowed to go unchecked and the police arrested the principle Chartist leaders in July. Charges ranging from attendance at illegal public meetings,

delivering addresses of an exciting and inflamatory nature, and advising the people to arm for the overthrow of her Majesty's Government were brought, Among those arrested were: Henry Rankine, upholsterer; John Grant; Robert Hamilton; James Cumming, bootmaker; and Archibald Walker, editor of the North British Express. With the exception of Grant and Walker, the others appear to have been journeymen. Though charges of sedition were brought, verdicts of not guilty were eventually returned.[73]

These events were guaranteed to alienate small property from the Chartist cause. Edinburgh experienced serious rioting on March 7 and 8, 1848, when a reported crowd of 3,000 was quelled by 700 special constables sworn in by the Lord Provost. In addition the military were sent for from Piershill barracks on the outskirts of the city. A riot also occurred in the city on July 3 in connection with a roup for annuity tax arrears.[74] Such was the anxiety felt in the city that a company of special constables was set up to parade the streets. The symbol of their authority and weapon of defence was a white wooden baton.[75] Chartism in Edinburgh, whether rightly or wrongly, was identified with violence, and in October of 1848 there was what amounted to a last attempt to forestall its demise. A meeting in the Trades Hall, Infirmary Street, was held for the purpose of organising a new association upon a 'legal, peaceful and constitutional basis'.[76] The association appears never to have got off the ground.

In all this, petit bourgeois radicalism whilst concurring with the aims of the Chartists in the establishment of democracy, but only as long as the democracy would serve the interests of the radicals, resented the independent working-class aspect of Chartism. As early as 1839 Tait's Edinburgh Magazine looked askance at the Independent tactics of the Chartists:

> The circumstances to be lamented at this moment above all others, is the very mistaken tactics of the Chartists. Not their final objects - not their principles - are objectionable; but the wrong-headedness which keeps them aloof, if not detrimental, when a common object is to be carried, and with that no loss to their cause . . . . The Tories exult in the estrangement and hostility between the lower and middle-class radicals; and a considerable section of middle-class reformers, staunch on the subject of Corn Laws, contemptously think they can carry their measure without the help of the working-classes, which, to tell the truth they would be glad to be able to dispense with on many occassions.[77]

Once more, the need for working-class support is clearly expressed, but it is a support that had somehow to be tied to the political interests of small property. In 1842 it was pointed out what might be achieved:

> The success of Joseph Sturge, single-handed and in a few months, shows what may be done among the intelligent people - among the Chartists, by those on whose integrity they can rely, and who go those lengths in reform, short of which they can have no hope of any permanent improvement in their social condition.[78]

But it is important to note that the Radicals, and the Chartists, were being advised to narrow their horizons of

hope of political, and hence social, reform, and to compromise and give support to organisations that were more practical in their approach to reform. In this instance the Complete Suffrage Union was seen as typifying this approach; and one to be emulated. For in such movements it was obvious that the petite bourgeoisie still retained control. Petit bourgeois support for Chartism in Edinburgh was largely confined to those who saw the movement only as an extension of and not as an alternative to, Radicalism. That group formed a minority, possibly even within the Radicals. The Radicals were openly split between those who, like Fraser, were prepared to embrace Chartism as an extension of what they had been fighting for, and men like Tait and Stott, who saw in the movement a working-class independence that they found difficult to countenance. And other organisations for reform were able to build on that lack of resolve.

THE ANTI-CORN LAW MOVEMENT

In Edinburgh petit bourgeois support was forthcoming for the activities and aims of the Anti-Corn Law League. This support, by the small masters, reflected a general shift towards economic liberalism. At the same time it was testimony to the permeation of bourgeois hegemony over other groups in nineteenth century society.[79] The petite

bourgeoisie was to be persuaded that they had a common economic and political interest with the urban bourgeoisie. As the Scotsman put it in 1844:

> For the merchant, the manufacturer, the capitalist, the Corn-Law is a serious grievance. It narrows the field of commercial enterprise, compels him to enter the foreign markets under heavy disadvantages, and as already mentioned exposes trade to ruinous revulsions. It deeply injures the whole body of the middle-classes in this respect, that while it closes many channels of profitable industry, it generates pauperism on a great scale, the burden of relieving which falls chiefly on them.[80]

The Anti-Corn Law League had been active in the city at least from 1839. Campaign tactics at this time were based on the petition and raising funds by subscription. A petition in January 1840 secured 20,000 signatures in the city. In April 1841 another petition raised 27,000 signatures, and in January 1842 a further petition counted 28,500 signatories. Not to be left behind, the 'ladies of Edinburgh' in February 1842 succeeded in gathering 22,000 signatures.[81]

Petit bourgeois support for the League was significant in the city. Table 6.3 gives an occupational breakdown of those contributing to a support fund in the city in 1843.[82] Based on a sample of 269 contributors, their occupations were established from the post office directory. The professions in the city were the largest single group of contributors accounting for 23 per cent of the sample. Whilst there had always been close relations with this

group and landed wealth, it was significant in Edinburgh that the professions formed the backbone of the Whig oligarchy in the city. As such they saw the Anti-Corn Law League, not so much as a challenge to landed wealth, but as an attack on the Tory administration. Most important, however, was the support from the ranks of the small masters. Together they counted 49.5 per cent of the subscribers.

Table 6:3 Contributors to Anti-Corn Law League Fund, 1845

	No.	%
Professionals	62	23.0
Manufacturers	11	4.1
Merchants	11	4.1
White Collar II	8	3.0
White Collar I	10	3.7
Merchant Retailers	15	5.6
Retailers	38	14.1
Craftsmen Retailer	36	13.4
Craftsmen	39	14.5
Semi-skilled trades	4	1.5
Transport	3	1.9
Not known	32	11.9
	269	100.0

Source: Scotsman

Organisations with a substantial small master membership were active in petitioning against the Corn Laws. It is hardly surprising that in May 1841 the Incorporated Society of Bakers of Edinburgh, forwarded a petition to the House of Commons. Bakers, of course, had more than a

passing interest in cheap corn. Similarly in 1842, both the Incorporation of Tailors and the Incorporation of St. Mary's Chapel, petitioned Parliament calling for 'free trade in corn and other articles of food.'[83]

The Corn Laws and their identification with aristocratic privilege were coalesced into the common enemy of the 'people'. Petit bourgeois radicals had long fought against privilege, and the Anti-Corn Law movement seemed to be part of their fight. Moreover, it was part of the overall attack on import duties on food stuffs which found support amongst the petit bourgeois retailers. Import duties were said, in 1842, to be 21s. per cwt. on butter; 8s. 5d. per cwt. of cheese; 25s. 2d. per cwt. on British sugar; and 66s. 2d. per cwt. on foreign sugar. A correspondent to the Scotsman concluded that the figures showed 'pretty plainly how sharply our aristocratic legislators look after the interests of themselves'.[84]

The urban bourgeoisie, whose interests lay with the Anti-Corn Law League, whether for political or economic reasons, were able to use the movement to disseminate their ideas and values to lower strata and classes. Ideology was used to cloak economic and political interests. For example, the Scotsman informed its readers that 'the question of the Corn Laws is pre-eminently a question of humanity and religion.'[85] Religious dissent was inextricably linked with the League, which gave it all the panoply of a

religious, as well as a moral, crusade.[86] Leading bourgeois organisations like the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce sought to give a lead in the city by calling for repeal as a first step on the way to the establishment of free trade and hence free competition.[87]

The petite bourgeoisie were caught in a maze of conflicting views as to where their interests ought to lie. On the one hand politically and economically they had come to regard the aristocracy as the root of all that was bad in the constitution. The aristocracy was identified as the opponent of political progress, and an opponent of the rights of small property. As such the petite bourgeoisie were able to identify with a movement which identified landed wealth with economic privilege. On the other hand, it was by no means clear that co-operation with the urban bourgeoisie was not in itself fraught with difficulty. As Treasurer of the city Drysdale in 1841 reminded trade that 'but for the landed rents of Scotland the New Town might be entirely blown up'.[88] Moreover, free trade had its concomitant in free competition, which was eventually to bring problems for the petite bourgeoisie.

In Edinburgh rule in the city was in control of the 'aristocratic - lawyer clique'. It meant that there was room for an alliance between the few industrialists the merchants and the small masters. This alliance was moulded by a common interest in dissenting religion, particularly

the Free Church, the anti-annuity tax movement, and the campaign for the repeal of the Corn Laws. All coalesced around anti-aristocratic, anti-lawyer, and increasingly, anti-whig feeling in the city. Petit bourgeois radicalism which had been the consistent opponent of the Whig party now faced the rising star of Liberalism; a movement which seemed to pull the rug from under the Radicals. Liberalism, championed the cause of dissent, preached economic liberalism, and identified itself as the opponent of privilege in all things. Many Radicals understandably were sucked in.

At the same time a wing of the petit bourgeois Radicals, though not opposed to the repeal of the corn law legislation, did oppose the Anti-Corn-Law Movement on the grounds that it distracted from the greater concern of establishing universal suffrage; from which all else would eventually follow. To concentrate on the Corn-Laws was to mistake a symptom for a cause of economic and social privilege. It was those petit bourgeois radicals most closely allied to the Chartists who took this stance. John Duncan, the small shopkeeper, and President of the Edinburgh and Mid-Lothian Universal Suffrage Association, which boasted 1,000 paying members was forthright in arguing that the policy of 'cheap bread' was only such that the capitalist might have cheap labour.[89] The Chartists took their opposition to the heart of the Anti-Corn-Law Movement by attending its meetings. At one meeting the Chartists attempted to move one of their

own body to take the chair, and attempted to pass resolutions in favour of universal suffrage.[90] Moreover at a meeting in January 1840 they forcibly removed the Lord Provost from the chair.

A letter which passed between James Black, a merchant, of Juniper Green and David Ramage, papermaker, of Kate's Mill Colinton, which somehow found its way to the Scotsman was illustrative of those Radicals who continued to support the Chartists and were opposed to the League:

> Dear Sir,
> . . . there is to be an Anti-Corn-Law meeting in Edinburgh tomorrow evening . . . I have engaged to have a number of men in from your quarter to assist. Please tell the people at your mill, - that is, those that have any sense - big boys and men, - to be ready to go tomorrow evening, if they do not wish their wages still further reduced. They will require to be away by a quarter before 6. I will find the tickets. We must be at the follows, and if energy is used, no doubt of success by doing so; it will put a damper on the rascals, and then the charter must be adopted by them. Up with you tonight. Tell William to assist if he can; tell old Malcolm. I am, dear sir, yours truly, James Black.[91]

Among the more accommodationist Radicals they too were of the opinion that the Corn Laws were but a symptom of a more general decay. These Radicals had a message to themselves and to the supporters of the Anti-Corn-Law League:

> As leaders in such a movement as that which we contemplate, there are a few able and honest men in Parliament, and others who, though to its shame are out of it, are not lost to the cause, and to the Hume's, Grotes' and Thompson's,

are added a new class, powerful from moral weight, represented by such men as Joseph Sturge . . . . The energetic members of the Anti-Corn Law League cannot surely sit down patiently under ignomious defeat, while every interest dear to them as men and citizens is menaced with ruin. There are, besides, cheering symptoms of renewed good understanding between the working-men and the middle-classes, whose objects and interests, rightly understood are one. Neither of them want the sagacity to perceive that their jealousies and dissensions augment the temporary strength of the common enemy of both classes.[92]

Both Chartist and Radical representatives of the petite bourgeoisie opposed the Anti-Corn Law League for its lack of foresight. Both groups believed that the League was in affect dealing with only a single issue, and that ultimately there was a struggle for wider emancipation, and not simply from the unjust burden of a food tax. The Anti Corn Law League nonetheless attracted a great deal of support from the community of small masters. It became a focus for the ideas of economic liberalism which were given a home amongst the petite bourgeoisie.

THE ANNUITY TAX

The existence of an annuity tax, dating from 1661, was a unique feature of politics in Edinburgh, shared only by the burgh of Montrose, whose citizens had also to pay this tax. Its purpose was to raise revenue for the payment of the Established church clergy's stipend.[93] The tax was

levied on all property in the city at a rate of 6 per cent. However, from this impost advocates, writers to the Signet, and other members of the College of Justice, were exempted.[94] This exemption could only reinforce the opposition of the petit bourgeois radicals and dissenters to the 'Lawyer-clique'.

A bill by the Lord Advocate, Francis Jeffrey in 1833 to end the exemption was left in obeyance following a decision of the inhabitants of Edinburgh to petition parliament for the complete abolition of the 1661 act.[95] Scottish Dissent did not take too kindly to paying for the upkeep of a ministry whose church was an anathema to them. However, Parliament was to resist all attempts at repeal until 1870 when legislation was finally passed. The tax was clearly seen as a burden falling largely on the petite bourgeoisie:

> The annuity tax being so intolerable a burden on the mercantile and trading classes of the community, and seeing that it is so unjust, there is an absolute necessity for the immediate abrogation - particularly so, as the great revenue arising from the seat rents legitimately belongs to the church, and ought to be exclusively devoted to its sacred purpose, for which it is amply sufficient .[96]

The introduction of seat rents only exacerbated the claims of the opponents of the tax. William Chambers summed up the plight of the petite bourgeoisie, who he said paid 'three pounds of tithe, under the ingeniously unintelligible name of annuity, for his shop; a sum as large is paid for

the same purpose for his house; and yet he has no seat in church; and to get a pew for his family he must wring out from his hard won earnings another two or three pounds'.[97] Another pamphlet argued that the tax fell exclusively upon 'the industrious part of the community, while the most numerous, most wealthy, and influential part of the inhabitants are entirely exempted'.[98] The strength of feeling was such that in 1837, 1500 people attended a meeting chaired by Duncan McLaren, calling for the abolition of church rates.[99]

The Town Council with strong representation from both the petite bourgeoisie and dissent campaigned for the repeal of the tax. In 1843 the radical Joseph Hood Stott laid figures before the Council showing that the loss of Annuity Tax from those groups who could best afford it was of the order of £2,000. Stott drew attention to the fact that the legal fraternity were also exempt from payment of the Poor's Money.[100] In 1849, Councillor Kay, a wine and spirit merchant, argued that almost one half of the rental of the city escaped the annuity tax. The consequence of which was that the burden fell most heavily on the small propertied interests.[101] Little could be done however, given the intransigence of Parliament.

Individuals, however, did take it upon themselves to refuse to pay the tax. Among these were leading Radicals including William Tait sent to prison in 1832, and Joseph Hood Stott arrested twice in 1843 and 1848. In 1838 over sixty individuals were summoned before the magistrates

for refusal to pay. The tax caused a near riot in July 1848 when crowds prevented an auctioneer rouping the goods of a small master upholsterer in Frederick Street. The Sheriff ordered out the military and police to allow the auction to proceed.[102] Opposition was such that by the late 1840s an Anti-Annuity Tax League was formed with Joseph Hood Stott a prominent member. The League called for the immediate abolition of the tax and was still in existence in 1853.[103] In July 1848 Stott moved the following resolution on the Town Council:

> 'That the annuity tax should be abolished, for the following reasons, viz. - 1. Because it is unjust and oppressive. It is chargeable solely on the tenants and occupiers of houses and shops, and the burden falls chiefly on the mercantile and trading part of the community, for proprietors, members of the College of Justice and certain public institutions are exempted; besides, the shopkeeper is three times taxed for the church: he pays 1st, 6 per cent annuity on the rent of his shop; and 2nd, the same sum on the rent of his house; and a high church seat rent.'

It was only agreed to forward the resolution to the Lord Provost's Committee for future consideration.[104] The Anti-Annuity Tax League was unsuccessful in getting Government to legislate in favour of repeal. However, Parliament did repeal the statute in 1874, but this was long after it had ceased to be an issue mobilising the petite bourgeoisie. The League was at its base a movement of the petite bourgeoisie. They felt aggrieved at, and overburdened by, the level of taxation, both national and

local, they endured. Moreover, they felt themselves to be the victims of the lawyers, who they saw as a class whose privilege rested upon their industry.

RADICAL ASSOCIATIONS

In the period 1840 to 1850 there was a succession of radical associations that were alternatives to Chartism, and thus guaranteed to appeal to that section of the petite bourgeoisie who opposed that organisation mostly on the grounds of its independent working-class stance. From the early months of 1842 a Complete Suffrage Union was in existence. A meeting of the Union in March in Dr. Ritchie's Chapel in the Potterow, was addressed by James Aytoun and another Radical in the city, Thomas Russel, an ironmonger.[105] In May a meeting of the Union was chaired by John Dunlop, a leading Chartist. The meeting had been called to hear a report of the Edinburgh delegates to the Birmingham conference of the Union. Sharing the platform were known Radicals including Dr. Ritchie, Mr. Neil S.S.C., Joseph Hood Stott, and Councillor Andrew Falkner, an ex-school teacher. In a demonstration of the sympathy of the Complete Suffragists for the Chartists a Mr. George Thompson, moved the adoption of the principles of the Charter and 'begged them to forgive the past neglect of the middle-classes and accept of

his and their services now'.[106] Despite this, the Complete Suffrage Union was clearly an attempt by the petit bourgeois radicals to remain at the helm of any movement for democracy. When in 1842 the Scotsman, media outlet for the Whigs, accused the Union of ceding to the Chartists, it brought a reply from 'one of the Scottish delegates' arguing the petit bourgeois radical direction of the Union and that its aims were those of the early reformers, Roebuck and Hume.[107]

The petit bourgeois orientation of the Union was further evident from the background of the stewards who were in attendance at a public banquet for William Sharman Crawford, in September 1842. Of thirty one stewards representing the Union fully 74 per cent were of the petite bourgeoisie, and with tickets costing 2s 6d small property effectively barred a working-class attendance.[108] The Radicals in Edinburgh placed a good deal of hope in the Union:

> As leaders in such a movement as that which we contemplate, there are a few able and honest men in Parliament, and others who, though to its shame are out of it, are not lost to the cause, and to the Hume's, Grote's, and Thompson's, are added a new class, powerful from moral weight, represented by such men as Joseph Sturge . . . . The energetic members of the Anti-Corn Law League cannot surely sit down patiently under ignominious defeat, while every interest dear to them as men and citizens is menaced with ruin. There are besides, cheery symptoms of renewed good understanding between the working-men and the middle-classes whose objects and interests, rightly understood are one. Neither of them want the sagacity to perceive that their jealousies and dissentions augment the temporary strength of the common enemy of both classes.[109]

The aim was clear: To bring the working-class into the political arena, but to remain firmly under radical control. Under the mantle of Philisophical Radicalism,[110] 'One of the Scottish Delegates' was quite clear that the aims of the Union was:

> 'anything less than a thorough Benthamite reform of our representative system will do any good - a reform that will make the house of commons respond to the interests of the community - a reform which, carrying out complete suffrage principles, shall do away with the existing discontent by admitting every steady working man to the enjoyment of the full privileges of a free citizen'.[111]

The emphasis on community was in one sense a rejection of the class nature of society. Conflict would cease to be a possibility in a society based on citizenship. In December 1843 at a meeting of the Complete Suffrage Union the Reverand W. Marshall had a resolution passed denouncing the results of class legislation and expressing the conviction that complete representation was the only means by which just and equal laws could be permanently secured.[112] Though the Union continued to hold meetings in the city till the summer of 1845, the organisation never fulfilled the expectations of those who first thought it would be the Radical alternative to Chartism. Moreover, the Whigs were still seen as the viable alternative to the Tories. In reviewing the efforts of the complete suffragists in Edinburgh Tait's Edinburgh Magazine declared:

> 'We regret to see the Complete Suffragists of Edinburgh proposing to follow the same course which at Birmingham has led to so disastrous a result. On the 18th July, after the issue of the Birmingham election was known, the Edinburgh complete suffragists held a meeting, (at which the Lord Provost had very properly refused to preside) for the purpose of passing a resolution', "that the future representatives of the city in Parliament should be devoted and earnest advocates for the removal of unjust commercial restrictions; for the complete separation of the church with the state; and for the extension to everyman of mature age of the power for voting for his representative in Parliament" and also "for putting in operation certain means of giving practical effect to those views". Now, there was not a man at that meeting who did not know that such candidates would have no better chance of sitting for Edinburgh than Mr. Sturge had for Birmingham. Here too, the effect would not be merely taking supporters from Russel to give them to Peel, but to lose two Free Traders, which the Edinburgh constituency may hope to carry at next election.[113]

In some quarters therefore tactical voting in pursuit of economic aims were clearly holding sway over the more principled stance of extending democracy. At the same time the economic watchword of free trade was paving the way for the emergence of the Liberal Party.

The Edinburgh Financial Reform Association founded in 1848 reflected the growing rapproachement between the petite bourgeoisie and the more established merchant and commercial middle-class in the city. Under the chairmanship of William Chambers, leading printer and publisher, the association in part took its inspiration from Cobden and Bright. Its aims at this juncture appeared purely economic. The Association called for greater Government economy, a

reduction of taxes, an end to war spending and preparations for war. Here free trade and a peaceful environment in which to pursue that aim were the dominant themes.[114]

The association published a number of tracts under the title Tracts of the Edinburgh Financial Reform Association. These propaganda sheets were aimed at those with a stake in property and were freely distributed to 'every house-holder of £15 and upwards'.[115] An attack on taxation was designed to appeal to the economy minded petite bourgeoisie.[116] At the same time aristocratic privilege was also attacked. In regard to the army it was said that 'if there be any other cause for maintaining a huge and expensive force, it must be found in the desire to provide the scions of the mobility and landed gentry, with a view to secure votes in both Houses of Parliament. As is well known commissions in the army and navy are held almost entirely by these classes'.[117]

The aim of the association was to secure as wide a base of support among the petite bourgeoisie as possible. In the early months of the organisation being set up the petit bourgeois presence in the leadership was already substantial. Indeed from table 6.4 it is clear that the small masters on the Committee of Association outnumbered all the other groups combined. In order to extend the base of its support the association underwent a change of direction, and became the National Financial and Parliamentary

Reform Association. This Edinburgh branch took its lead from John Bright's Manchester orientated Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association. The inclusion of a political aim was intended to secure petit bourgeois radical and working-class support.[118] In addition it sought to combine economic and political interests under one umbrella organisation. However, the political aims of the Association differed fundamentaly from those of the Complete Suffrage Union. Universal suffrage was passed over for an extension of the franchise lying somewhere between household and Universal Suffrage. The main argument for such change was not one of political ideal, of a community of interests exercising democracy, but of the control needed to curb the extravagance of national expenditure. At a lecture of the Reform Association in July 1849, chaired by the Radical Joseph Hood Stott, Archibald Prentice of Manchester condemned the management of the affairs of the country, and argued that the people had not a sufficient instrument of control in their hands to check the extravagant and improper proceedings of Government.[119] The petit bourgeois radical ideal of the democratic community was constantly being watered down.

Table 6:4 Occupational Breakdown of the Committee of Association of the Edinburgh Financial Reform Associations

Professions	13
Manufacturers	6
Merchants	3
White Collar II	2
White Collar I	1
Merchant Retailers	10
Retailers	15
Craftsmen Retailers	9
Craftsmen	3
Semi-skilled Craftsman	1
No OCC; not traced	7
	70

Source: Scotsman

Another radical association to surface in the city was the League of Universal Brotherhood, a branch of the Cobdenite Peace Society. Formed in 1847, free trade and pacifism, together with international arbitration and the elimination of colonial possessions were the goals of the League. Though never aiming for mass movement status it secured over 400 members in the first months of its existence.[120] In 1851 there was in existence a social Reform Association which met in temperance coffee houses. The Radicals Stott and Wigham along with the Liberal Duncan McLaren were its active leaders, and campaigned for an

extension of the franchise.[121] The association appears to have been short lived. It was replaced by a Parliamentary Reform Committee again under the leadership of Stott and McLaren. The committee advocated a Poor-rate qualification for the franchise; an equal proportion of Scots to English constituencies; the vote for all forty shilling freeholders and tenants holding land to that value, with a residential qualification of three months to prevent corrupt practices; automatic registration of electors; no property qualifications for M.P.'s; triennial Parliaments; and the secret ballot.[122]

This period marked something of a watershed in the politics of the petite bourgeoisie, Joseph Hood Stott in a real sense was representative of the old guard of petit bourgeois radicalism, and if Stott symbolised the old it was Duncan McLaren who symbolised the change. McLaren had climbed out of the ranks of small property to become a substantial merchant in the city. He emphasised that capital was there to stay. He, more than others spoke for the Liberal interest, and increasingly the Liberal party. However, the Liberal caucus was something of a symbiosis of the old and the new in politics.

The petit bourgeois radical aims of democracy, though achieving the franchise for themselves failed to broaden that democracy to include the working class. Their ultimate failure was evident in those final years of the first

half of the century when association replaced association. Few saw any inconsistency in being members of associations that had gradually changed emphasis away from Universal suffrage to household and ratepayer suffrage. It is not an exaggeration to argue that men like Stott were members of nearly all the Radical associations that existed in Edinburgh. It is in this sense that the petite bourgeoisie takes on its chameleon role.

Petit bourgeois Radicalism through all its developments was always a minority movement. The mass of the petit bourgeois support had gone to the Whigs. It is perhaps no surprise therefore that an organisation that could promise policy and unite the commercial and industrial middle-class with the petite bourgeoisie, that was able to capitalise on a strong Dissenting religious and political movement in Edinburgh particularly after the Disruption of 1843, would succeed in transforming politics in the City and in the process attract support from small property. That party was the Liberal.

LIBERAL TRIUMPH

In May 1839 a meeting between Whigs and Radicals for a proposed union of Reformers was held in Edinburgh. At the meeting William Tait, Radical publisher, moved a motion

calling for an extension of the franchise; vote by ballot; and a shortening of the duration of the life of the Government. James Aytoun seconded the motion. However, a motion by Duncan McLaren, already described as a Liberal, called for a compromise between this the Radical position and the position of the Whigs. McLaren's motion carried. It was an early sign that the politics of compromise were in the ascendancy in the city.[123] In the same month Liberals in the city met and agreed to nominate the Whig MacCaulay as their representative in the forthcoming election.[124] The Liberals were as yet too weak to offer a challenge to the Whigs, and any challenge, it was thought, would be devisive, and, perhaps, lead to a Tory victory.

The eventual triumph of the Liberal party in the city rested partly on their willingness to organise at ground level. Thus for example in 1839 there was in existence the New Town Reform Association. This was composed of electors who were friendly to the progress of civil and religious liberty. Each member elected to the organisation was obliged to pay dues of 2s 6d yearly. At a time when electors were obliged to register for a vote by themselves, the object of the association was to secure a full registration of 'liberal electors' in the New Town, and 'to the diffusion and maintenance among the electors of a proper interest in the exercise of the franchise entrusted to them'.[125] The provisional committee of the Association consisted of fourteen persons: one member of the aristocracy;

one army colonel; one advocate; five solicitors; one accountant; two booksellers; one optician, ironmonger, and wine merchant.[126] At this time, and in contrast to the emergent Liberal party, the Tory party was less inclined to organise in this manner. Though in the 1835 period a group of young Tory lawyers, the Junior Conservatives, had helped to organise registration in the various wards, and between 1839 and 1841 there was an Edinburgh Operatives' Conservative Association which had a reading room in the High Street and latterly in Hunter Square. These appeared to be the exception to a Tory party in Edinburgh that countenanced little grass roots organisation.[127]

By 1840 the Aggregate Liberal Committee was established. Liberal organisation also spread to ward level for elections to the Town Council.[128] At its inception the Committee did not meet with the approval of the Radicals. William Tait argued that the Aggregate Committee was no better than the old self-elected 'thirty three'.[129] Despite this opposition the Radicals were not able to create an alternative to the Liberal politics of individualism, progress and prosperity. Moreover, the Liberal party was very much a product of Dissent, which it was able to build on. In Edinburgh the politically active Free Church threw its weight behind the emergent organisation. Opposition to the Whigs brought with it increased support among the petite bourgeoisie.

In 1847 the Liberal Party based on a growing coalition of interests was able to score an important victory against the Whigs in the election of that year. At the same time by doing so they sounded the death knell of petit bourgeois radicalism. The victory was partly paved by the incumbent M.P. Babington Macauly who had antagonised the electors of Edinburgh by his opposition to free trade and more important by his activities over the Maynooth religious controversy.[130] The Liberal candidate was Charles Cowan, a paper manufacturer. In the absence of a Radical candidate Cowan was able to capture the petit bourgeois vote and in the process to cement the embryonic relationship between the democratic aims of the petite bourgeoisie and those of economic and political liberalism.

Though few poll books exist for Edinburgh in the nineteenth century, there is a partial account of the 1847 election. A list of voters for Charles Cowan has survived. By tracing these individuals in the post office directory their occupational backgrounds were established.[131] In addition to voting preference the religious persuasion of the individual voter was recorded, which was again evidence of the intensity of religious feeling around in the city. Moreover this poll book sheds light on the political behaviour of the petite bourgeoisie.

The number of bona fide voters on the electoral register was around 4,500 and of these just under 3,800 turned out to vote, with the following results:

Plumpers

Cowan	Liberal		913
Blackburn	Tory		223
Macaulay	Whig		62
Gibson Craig	Whig		1

Split Votes

Gibson Craig and Macaulay	1321
Cowan and Blackburn	658
Cowan and Gibson Craig	437
Gibson Craig and Blackburn	69
Cowan and Macaulay	42
Macaulay and Blackburn	30

Source: Scotsman[132]

Gibson Craig and Cowan were elected to stand as M.P.'s for the city. The election of Cowan who captured a substantial section of the petit bourgeois and Dissenting vote marked a victory for the mercantile and trading classes in the city over an entrenched political Whiggism. Table 6.5 it must be realised is only a partial account of voting behaviour in the election because it records only those who voted for Cowan and where appropriate their second vote. Nonetheless some conclusions can be drawn as to the composition of the Liberal vote. In particular it demonstrates the extent of petit bourgeois support for Cowan. Overall it is clear that plumper votes for Cowan were substantial amongst all groups voting, with the lowest among the Whitecollar (II) group at 29.8 per cent and the highest amongst the producer retailers at 54.5 per cent. It was evidence of the growing strength of the independent

TABLE 6.5 OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN OF THOSE VOTING FOR CHARLES COWAN, WITH SECOND PREFERENCE RECORDED

OCCUPATION	GIBSON-CRAIG		BLACKBURN		MACAULAY		PLUMPERS		TOTALS
PROFESSIONAL	20	12.3	65	39.9	5	3.1	73	44.8	163
MANUFACTURER	3	7.3	17	41.5	--	---	21	51.2	41
MERCHANT	16	32.0	12	24.0	1	2.0	21	42.0	50
WHITE COLLAR (2)	11	23.4	21	44.7	1	2.1	14	29.8	47
WHITE COLLAR (1)	15	27.3	14	25.4	2	3.6	24	43.6	55
MERCHANT RETAILER	29	22.6	38	29.7	2	1.6	59	46.1	128
RETAILER	96	21.7	140	31.7	11	2.5	195	44.1	442
CRAFTSMEN RETAILER	58	18.2	79	24.8	8	2.5	174	54.5	319
CRAFTSMEN	41	23.8	48	27.9	3	1.7	80	46.5	172
SEMI-SKILLED	6	30.0	7	35.0	--	---	7	35.0	20
TRANSPORT (1)	2	15.4	6	46.1	1	7.7	4	30.8	13
AGRICULTURE (1)	1	33.3	1	33.3	--	---	2	33.3	3
MISCELLANEOUS	1	50.0	--	----	--	---	1	50.0	2
PROPRIETOR	71	25.7	95	34.4	5	1.8	105	38.0	276
PROPRIETOR (not resident)	68	20.9	104	31.9	7	2.1	147	45.1	326

SOURCE: List of Voters in the City of Edinburgh who Voted for Mr. Charles Cowan, M.P. (EPL).

Liberal vote as opposed to a Liberal-Whig coalition. Cowan's support was strongest in the groups who made up the petite bourgeoisie. The Whig vote had not shifted to Gibson Craig as might have been expected with the disastrous showing of Macaulay, instead it had gone to the Liberals. For the Liberals had staked their claim to be a credible alternative to the Whigs and there was little fear at this election that the Tories would win as a result of the struggle between Liberal and Whig. Indeed there is some evidence that the Tory camp had chosen to support Cowan in preference to their own candidate Blackburn. Perhaps as a tactical measure against Macaulay who had angered the religious views of many Tories also. Those giving the second vote to Gibson Craig sought to promote the Liberal-Whig coalition.

Religious affiliation was clearly a determinant of the Cowan vote. Of some 1400 persons whose affiliation was known only 157 voters for Cowan were of the Established church. Liberalism and Dissenting religion went hand in hand, and from table 6.6 it is clear that Free churchmen and United Presbyterians were the most numerous supporters of Cowan. Table 6.6 also demonstrates the importance of dissenting religion in its recruitment of petit bourgeois adherents, with again the Free church and United Presbyterian church overshadowing all else.[134]

TABLE 6.6 OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN OF RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THOSE VOTING FOR COWAN, AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL

OCCUPATION	EPISCOPALIAN	EST. CHURCH	R. C.	FREE CHURCH	UNIT. PRES.	CONGREG.	BAPTIST	WESLEYAN	UNIT. O. S.	REF. PRES.	GLASSITES	UNITARIANS	SOCIETY OF FRIENDS	UNKNOWN
PROFESSIONAL	6.7	10.4	-	49.4	13.4	1.8	4.3	-	-	-	0.6	-	-	13.4
MANUFACTURER	2.4	9.8	-	41.5	19.5	-	4.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.0
MERCHANT	-	6.0	2.0	42.0	24.0	-	2.0	2.0	2.0	-	-	-	2.0	18.0
WHITE COLLAR (2)	4.3	14.9	-	38.3	12.8	-	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	27.7
WHITE COLLAR (1)	3.6	12.5	-	26.8	17.9	8.9	3.6	-	1.8	-	-	-	-	25.0
MERCHANT RETAILER	3.1	10.9	-	29.7	25.0	2.3	5.5	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	21.9
RETAILER	0.4	6.1	0.4	23.3	30.8	3.8	1.6	-	1.1	-	-	-	0.2	32.1
PRODUCER-RETAILER	0.6	3.8	0.6	22.6	27.3	1.9	5.0	1.3	0.9	0.3	-	0.6	0.6	34.5
CRAFTSMEN	0.6	7.6	-	23.8	26.2	6.4	2.9	-	1.2	0.6	-	-	-	--
SEMI-SKILLED	-	5.0	-	20.0	20.0	10.0	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	40.0
TRANSPORT	-	8.3	-	41.7	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.0
AGRICULTURE	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.0
MISCELLANEOUS	-	50.0	-	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--
PROPRIETOR	2.6	11.6	0.4	25.7	21.6	2.6	4.5	0.7	1.5	-	-	1.1	1.1	26.5
PROPRIETOR (not resident)	0.9	5.8	0.3	24.0	20.3	5.2	2.2	-	1.2	0.3	-	0.3	0.3	40.1

Source: As Table 6.5

The importance of religious affiliation and voting behaviour is again drawn in table 6.7 Those whose religion was Episcopolian or Established Church showed a marked proclivity to vote for the Tory Blackburn with 68.6 per cent and 63.3 per cent respectively. In contrast Congregationalists, Baptists and Wesleyans overwhelmingly gave both votes to Cowan, with percentage figures of 77.5 per cent, 69.1 per cent and 88.9 per cent. When considering the Free Church and United Presbyterian vote the question of a tactical vote for Blackburn to prevent the Whig Macaulay gaining office should be borne in mind. But for the tactical vote the figures of 45.2 per cent and 52.7 per cent plumper votes for Cowan would have been higher; or shared with Gibson Craig. Overall, the importance of religion in the world of the petite bourgeoisie was clearly evident. It clearly influenced their voting behaviour, and in some respects it had replaced the ideology of petit bourgeois radicalism. Moreover, it signifies the clear association with dissenting religion and the emergent Liberal Party. A Party which was to reign triumphant in Edinburgh during the second half of the nineteenth century.

In 1852 Macaulay succeeded in regaining his seat alongside Cowan. But from 1856 to the end of the century it was the Liberal Party that dominated electoral politics in the city. Indeed only two Tories were elected: Sir John Learmouth in 1834 and some sixty years later in 1895 Robert Cox, a glue manufacturer with works at Gorgie.

TABLE 6.7 RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION BY SECOND VOTE

RELIGION	GIBSON-CRAIG	BLACKBURN	MACAULAY	PLUMPER
	%	%	%	%
EPISCOPALIAN	8.6	68.6	----	22.8
ESTABLISHED CHURCH	20.9	63.3	0.6	15.2
ROMAN CATHOLIC	14.3	28.6	14.3	42.8
FREE CHURCH	20.2	33.7	0.9	45.2
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN	25.1	19.6	2.6	52.7
CONGREGATIONALIST	9.8	9.8	2.8	77.5
BAPTIST	17.6	11.8	1.5	69.1
WESLEYAN	11.1	----	----	88.9
UNITED ORIGINAL SECEEDERS	30.0	35.0	----	35.0
REFORMED PRES.	33.3	33.3	----	33.3
GLASSITES	----	----	100.0	----
UNITARIANS	16.7	16.7	----	66.7
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS	37.5	----	----	62.5
UNKNOWN	24.6	24.6	4.1	46.6

Source: As Table 6.5

The mid-century period marked the watershed in the potentiality of an independent politic representing the interests of small property. Petit bourgeois radicalism had attempted to build a populist movement uniting the forces of small property, with those of an emergent working class. It was a response to the changes in the style and pace of life brought about by the process of industrialisation. But in its outlook this petit bourgeois radicalism was essentially conservative, hoping by political domination to retain the society of small producers. Petit bourgeois radicalism never succeeded in gaining the majority of support from the classes it claimed to represent in Edinburgh. Within the petite bourgeoisie the Radicals remained a largely ineffectual minority, and played a subservient role ultimately to Whigism. Neither did they succeed in gaining the support of the nascent working-class movement, which had begun to pursue its own politic. Nonetheless, the petite bourgeoisie, as distinct from its Radical wing, retained a powerful potentiality to exercise considerable influence on the direction of politics through their possession of the franchise. That latent power, however, was used to bolster the Whig and Liberal parties in the city.

The Whigs and then the Liberals, representing different factions of the urban ruling class in Edinburgh, were able to dominate, and oompromise with, an otherwise compliant small master community. Neither was this accomplished in

a purely reductionist manner. Both Whigs and Liberals were able to disseminate a political and cultural hegemony, not in a conspiratorial manner, but by appealing to ideas within the ranks of small property that were the product of its own development.[135] The appeal of the populist tradition was in part broken by the birth of a new generation of petit bourgeois, knowing little of and caring little for, a golden past. Instead a new generation looked to the future and accepted the promises of British Capitalism of a future filled with progress and success. After 1850 the Liberals in Edinburgh, with the emphasis placed on Free Trade, Dissent, and a willingness to espouse a philosophy of economic and individual liberalism, courted and had a long engagement with the petite bourgeoisie in Victorian Edinburgh.

James Cornford has suggested that in the late nineteenth century the petite bourgeoisie shifted its allegiance to the Tory party reflecting the general drift of large property as the mainstay of Toryism.[136] In Edinburgh no such drift towards 'Villa Toryism' took place sufficient to oust the Liberals. Neither does it appear that the fear of independent working-class action was strong enough in Edinburgh to create widespread feeling of insecurity amongst the petite bourgeoisie sufficient to drive them towards rightist politics.[137] Only in 1892 did a 'socialist' candidate stand for election to Parliament. J. Wilson of the Federation of Scottish Socialists, which had been formed

in Edinburgh in 1888 and was later to merge with the newly formed Independent Labour Party in 1893, stood for election in the Edinburgh Central constituency and polled 434 votes; 7.3 per cent of the vote.[138] No other candidate stood for election on a socialist platform in Edinburgh in the late nineteenth century, though there were independent working-class candidates at the local council elections. The Liberal's power in Edinburgh remained.

There is no evidence to suggest that the petite bourgeoisie in Edinburgh allied themselves to the growing number of militant right-wing organisations such as the Liberty and Property Defence League.[139] Only when brought into contact with the League through trade associations was there any reason to suppose that the League exerted any influence. for example the minute books of the Scottish Licensed Trade Association record a letter from the Editor and proprietor of the Liberty Review, the League's journal, requesting that the Association be the means of supplying workmen's clubs and reading rooms in Scotland with copies of the journal. As a result the meeting of the Scottish Licensed Trade Association "desiring to give the Liberty Review every support," instructed the secretary to communicate with local secretaries to obtain from them a list of all non-political workmen's clubs or mechanic's libraries in Scotland.[140] From 1884 the Scottish Licensed Trade Association had allied with the Liberty & Property Defence League, sending delegates to conferences of the League and voting

regular donations and subscriptions.[141] Despite such contact it is overwhelmingly clear that there was no general mobilisation of widespread petit bourgeois support for such organisations.

If the emergence of independent labourist organisations evoked fear and insecurity in a section of the petite bourgeoisie, another section actively engaged in the growth of labour policies. Their marginality and close proximity to the working-class both in cultural and economic terms ensured that there was a continuity with the petite bourgeoisie and the working-class that had not entirely vanished after 1850. In part that tradition assumed the mantle of advanced Liberals' within the broad sweep of the Liberal Party. Old petit bourgeois Chartists like Robert Crighton were in the forefront of this movement.[142] In the forefront of 'Lib-Labism' it was not unusual to see men like David Lewis, small master shoemaker and later editor of The Reformer, forming part of the working-class leadership in the late nineteenth century and in part reinforcing the continuity with the pre-1850 period. Neither with the rise of an independent working-class politic did petit bourgeois involvement disappear. Though biographical information on the background of the Labour leadership in Edinburgh has been difficult to come by, the statements of Harry McShane describing Glasgow in the same period ought to be borne in mind. McShane recounts that part of the leadership and activists of the Independent

Labour Party had their background in the ranks of the petite bourgeoisie.[143] More recent research on the family background of the inter-war Scottish Labour M.P.'s and Labour movement leaders again shows that many had their origins in the petite bourgeoisie and white-collar strata.[144] Such evidence questions a too easy assumption that the petite bourgeoisie were to be found supporting rightist politics.

In the second-half of the nineteenth-century there was little that resembled an independent political movement based on the interests of small property. There was little that reflected a petit bourgeois political consciousness. This was an indication of the increasing marginality of the class in national politics. In Edinburgh the petite bourgeoisie were largely to be found in the ranks of the Liberal party. A smaller group possibly, were drawn into the emerging politics of labourism, emphasising the social and cultural ties with the labour aristocracy, and it part witnessing the continuity of petit bourgeois radicalism that had championed the rights of the people.[145]

CHAPTER VII

THE POLITICS OF THE PETITE BOURGEIOSIE: TWO, LOCAL.

One historian who has surveyed the politics of Edinburgh in the second quarter of the nineteenth century has concluded that 'Parliamentary elections were the great set pieces of Edinburgh politics and much more insight may be gained by studying them in detail than the monotonous trivia of Town Council politics'.[1] Local politics were dismissed for their unimportance. Recent historiography has shown that such a view is less than justified.[2] Moreover, Garrard has argued that the urban middle-classes, in which he includes the petite bourgeoisie, considered local politics to be more important and satisfying. Such satisfaction was based on a number of factors. Firstly, in a period when owner management was seen as a necessity in business, few could afford the time, and expense of sitting in the House of Commons. Secondly, many of the decisions affecting their interests were taken at the local level, and decisions taken there held to be of more importance. Such decisions were often of the bread and butter kind, rates and local taxes, which for those living on the margins of profitability were real issues affecting their life chances. Thirdly, those who sought power and

status found it easier to be big fish in small ponds. It was at the local level especially that the petite bourgeoisie were able to influence the decision making process out of all proportion to their individual wealth and power. But as a class of small property they brought their influence to bear on the institutions of local government.[3]

One aspect of examining the political activity of the petite bourgeoisie is that we are by necessity of the evidence having to concentrate on leaders and activists. There is no easy solution to the problem of knowing if those activists actually spoke for the petite bourgeoisie as a whole. Nonetheless an important trend that emerges from the evidence is a transition by the petite bourgeoisie in outlook regarding local politics. From the democratic radicalism of the pre 1850s, a radicalism that at its core espoused the need for democratic control of local government institutions we move impercetably to witnessing the petite bourgeoisie as little more than an economy minded party. They lose sight of their populist ideology. But neither is this move towards acceptance of a kind of petit bourgeois economism surprising. For running through the radical years was the acceptance of an economism based on the need to curb public expenditure. In this sense there was continuity based on the need to defend the economic interests of small property. Though the nature of petit bourgeois political ideology changes, the commitment to their class defence of small property did not. The small

masters demonstrated their ability to survive in a changing political world and were able to remain an important voice at the local political level. This chapter examines the petit bourgeois involvement in local government against the background of the local institutions of government. These included the Town Council and those institutions concerned with local government finance especially those concerned with the rating function.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The most important local government institutions were those which wielded power over Edinburgh's finances. Three were of particular importance: firstly, the Town Council, secondly, the Police Commission, and thirdly, those institutions in control of the assessment for the poor. It was in these institutions that the petite bourgeoisie, and other groups sought to establish a power base. Vested interests, whether economic, religious, political or combinations of all three, attempted to promote and safeguard those interests by controlling these areas of government. At the same time these institutions were a source of status and power.[4] Emerging from the recent work on urban politics is the difference in the structure of politics in different towns arising from varying economic, social and religious configurations.[5] In short the situation in Edinburgh cannot be taken as typical.

The Town Council was the central institution dominating local government. Prior to the municipal reform legislation of 1833 the Council had functioned as a self-perpetuating oligarchy, with only the Deacons of incorporated trades claiming some form of representation by being elected by the membership. However, even here this democratic procedure was replaced in some instances by a nominated list of candidates sent to the incorporated trades by the Council.[6] For an example of 'The Thing' one has only to turn to the Edinburgh Town Council. Its removal was due in no small measure to the radicalism of the petite bourgeoisie. Though the burgh reform movement has a history dating back to the 1780's, it was not until 1833 that municipal reform of the electoral system was achieved in Scotland. The role of the petite bourgeoisie in the call for reform was significant.[7]

As a result of sustained pressure the self-election system was ended and a limited franchise was introduced with the passing of the Burgh Reform, Scotland, Act of 1833. This gave the vote to ten pound ratepayers numbering some 7,500 citizens. But the outcome fell way short of the expectations of the Radicals. Nevertheless, Tait's Edinburgh Magazine depicted the result of 1833 in the following terms, and left no doubt as to the antipathy felt by Radicals, to 'Old Corruption','the rat nests' are in the process of being uncovered and the rats are about to be sent scampering. Those sinks of corruption - the Burgh Corporations -

are about to become purified'.[8] Overnight, Edinburgh was transformed from a representative body of thirty-three to having an electorate encompassing the top 7 per cent of the adult male citizens. The city was divided into five wards, each returning six members, excepting the fourth ward which returned seven. In addition the Dean of Guild and the Convenor of Trades were also represented.[9] On the subject of the franchise the Reform Act of 1867 was important in establishing adult male household suffrage, and by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1869, the franchise was extended to women householders. In 1856, the municipal boundary was extended giving thirteen wards, with a complement of thirty-nine councillors, three for each ward. By 1896 the dormitory town of Portobello was added to the city resulting in a further change of ward boundaries; the number of wards increasing to sixteen with forty-eight councillors.[10]

Under the ultimate control of the Edinburgh Town Council rested the magisterial affairs of the city, and, control of poor administration, the police, lighting, water, education, paving and trade including the Port of Leith. However, up until 1856 Edinburgh functioned largely as a double tier system of local government. For from 1771 a Police Commission had been established, under a partial ratepayer franchise, which had control over police, cleansing and lighting as well as other minor areas of authority jurisdiction. But most important the Commission had the

power to levy rates.[11] Local government therefore, required substantial numbers to operate its many political functions. As a report by Mr. Sinclair, the City Clerk, of 1855 indicated the numbers required to oversee the affairs of the city consisted of thirty-three town councillors; ninety-six resident and general commissioners of police; nineteen members of the paving board; three resident magistrates of Canongate; two resident magistrates of Portsburgh; and forty commissioners of the Southern districts. All told 193 persons.[12] However, under the Municipal Extension Act of 1856, the Police Commission was abolished and its functions absorbed by the Town Council. Abolished also were the commissioners of the Southern districts and the magistrates of Portsburgh and Canongate.[13] From this date power and control of the city's affairs rested with the thirty-nine Town Councillors.

As stated previously the socio-economic structure of towns, and cities had a bearing on the political formation especially in terms of those groups seeking representation on the Council. As noted in previous chapters Edinburgh's economic structure was such that an industrial bourgeoisie was not to be found in any preponderant numbers. In contrast to other more heavily industrialised towns wealth and power lay with the professions and the commercial middle-class. The city's industrial concerns were largely dominated by the small master community with a sprinkling of small capitalists at the top. This scenario was reflected in the social composition of the Town Council.

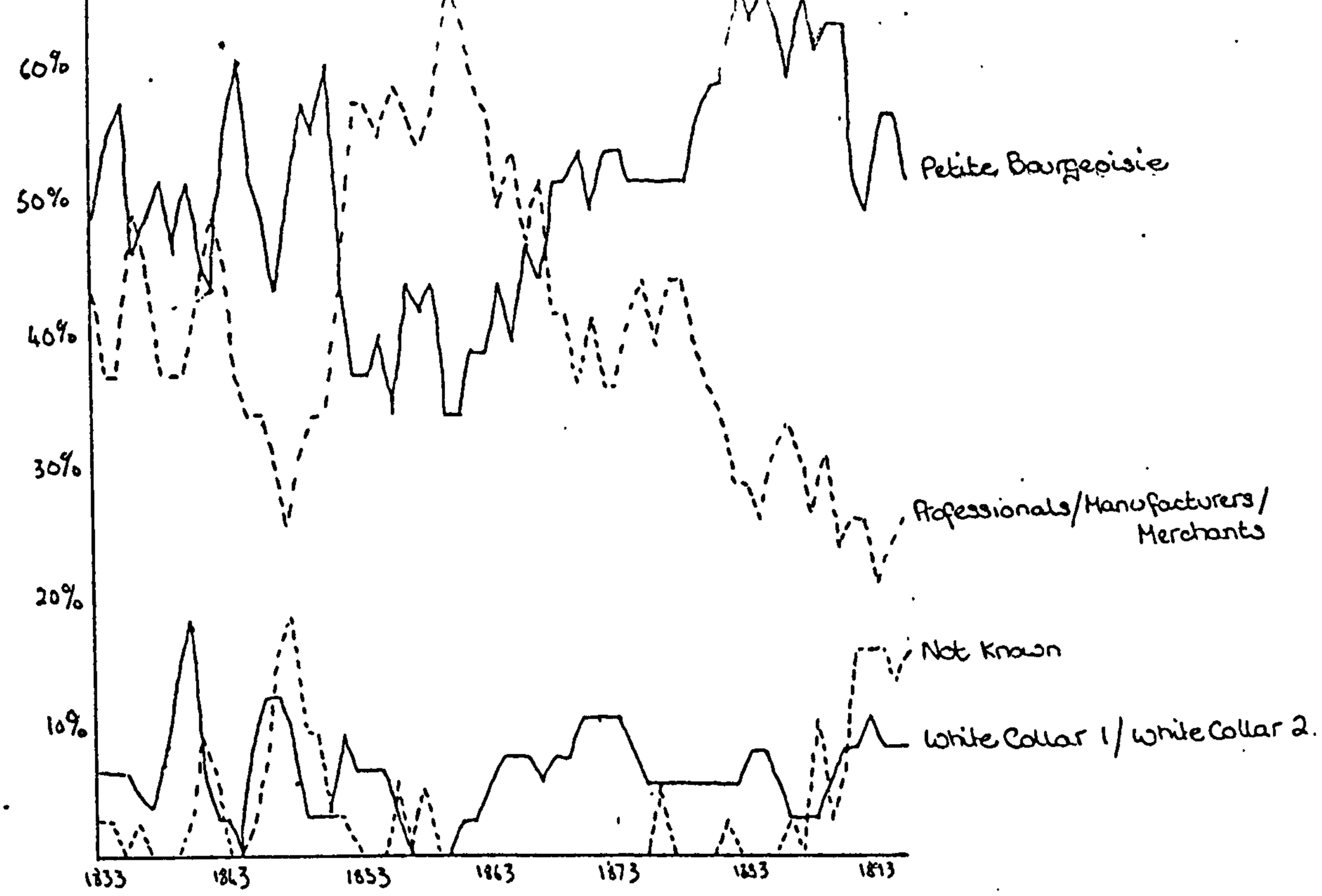

Fig. 1

Figure 1 presents a graphic analysis of the Edinburgh Town Council from its reform in 1833 to 1895.[14] The graph divides the members of the Council into broad occupational and power related groups. It is recognised that these categories can never be as precise as one would wish given the absence of more biographical data as to wealth and property holding. Four classifications have been used based on the procedures used in earlier tables.[15] Firstly, the elite group based on the professions, merchants and manufacturers; secondly, the white collar groupings; thirdly, the petite bourgeoisie; and finally, a category comprising those whose occupation or status could not be traced. From the graph therefore, it is possible to illustrate the make-up of the Council, in terms of these groups, in every year in the period 1833-95. Above all Figure 1 demonstrates the importance of petit

bourgeois representation on the Council. They are a majority on the Council in every year; with the exception of the period 1853 to 1867 when the elite group was in the ascendancy. The number of seats occupied by small property in any year ranged from 33.4 per cent of seats to 66.6 per cent. The only challenge to that domination on the Council came from the urban elite; as the white collar grouping remained small and uninfluential, and within the elite it was the professions who were the single and most influential group, indeed on the Council as a whole.[16] Something of the opposition to the 'lawyer clique' was capable of manifesting itself in the struggle for control over local decision making processes, as it had been in parliamentary politics in the city. Thus control in the Town Council was very much a conflict between the petite bourgeoisie and the professions.

The situation in Edinburgh can be contrasted with available information elsewhere. For example, and allowing for different classification procedures, in Blackburn in 1861 twenty-one out of thirty-six Town Councillors were large cotton or iron and engineering employers, again in 1899 eight out of fourteen aldermen were substantial cotton employers.[17] In Leeds the professions had been an important complement of the Council there, but by 1875 it returned none.[18] Salford, Bolton and Rochdale were favourably represented by manufacturing interests.[19] The importance of large scale manufacture in these towns was a distinct feature, and large industrial employers correspondingly

were reflected in the composition of the Town Councils. However, other cities, notably Birmingham and Cardiff were not unlike Edinburgh in the extent to which petit bourgeois interests tended to dominate, at least for part of their history.[20] Though neither Birmingham nor Cardiff had the same complement of professions as existed in Edinburgh. At times it would not be stretching the point to see in Edinburgh the professions as a social class.

In the period 1833 to 1895 some 379 individuals held the office of Councillor. Table 7.1 gives an occupational breakdown of those individuals, 30.3 per cent of those serving as Councillors were from the professions. In contrast only 4.0 per cent were representative of the industrial bourgeoisie. Amongst the petit bourgeois groupings the retailers, craftsmen-retailers and craftsmen were most prominent with percentage rates of 14.2, 13.7 and 12.1 respectively. However, when those occupations that formed the basis of the class of small property are totalled together they accounted for 45.8 per cent of Councillors.

Table 7.1: Occupational Background of Town Councillors, 1833-95

Occupational Group	No.	%	
Professions	115	30.3	
Manufacturers	15	4.0	
Merchants	33	8.7	43.0
White Collar 1	19	5.0	
White Collar 2	5	1.3	6.3
Merchant Retailers	20	5.3	
Retailers	54	14.2	
Craftsmen Retailers	52	13.7	
Craftsmen	46	12.1	
Semi-skilled	2	0.5	45.8
Unknown	18	4.7	4.7
	379		

Source: Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directories, M.E.T.C., R.M.E.T.C.

The 'Shopocracy' was a term often applied to the petite bourgeoisie. The overall importance of shopkeepers in town council politics, as Marwick states, was evident from the fact that out of thirty-four Lord Provosts in the nineteenth century sixteen were from the shopkeeping 'class'.[21] In part, this was attributed to their greater facilities for taking time off than other groups to pursue political careers. Politics at any level is about power and the conflict over power. But it is also about status and self interest. Despite a Self-Denying Ordanance in the standing orders of the Town Council which prohibited councillors securing Council contracts, self interest was promoted in more generalised ways.[22] Elliott, McCrone and Skelton in their investigation of property holding amongst Town Councillors in Edinburgh in 1875, found that 80 per cent owned property, the majority of which was residential. The conclusion reached was that these property holders were able to advance their interests through their close involvement with public administration.[23]

It is clear then that those with a stake in property might look upon the Council as one way of protecting those interests. Indeed those with property sought to create the view that such persons were the most suitable to hold office. Hence the vocabulary of 'fit and proper person' was used in Edinburgh, as it was elsewhere.[24] On closer inspection a definition of 'fit and proper' begins to emerge. In 1837 electors in the second ward were asked 'to send into the Council men of good sense and experience

in business'.[25] Candidates were described as men of good business habits.[26] Clearly such statements appealed to the petite bourgeoisie and indeed may have been promoted by the class to give prominence to the right of small property to representation on tbe Council. The struggle for candidates on the Council was characteristically seen in an attack on the lawyers. At a meeting of electors of the 3rd ward in 1841 to nominate candidates for the forthcoming election, Thomas Russel, ironmonger, objected to the nomination of A. S. Logan on the grounds that there were enough lawyers on the Council already. Russel nominated instead Mr. Caldwell, a small master builder, as a candidate. Logan, however, won the nomination.[27] This divide between the petite bourgeoisie and the professions was also reflected in the Whig-Radical divide. In 1838 Joseph Hood Stott complained of the attempts by the Whigs to secure both their candidates to vacant seats in the first ward. Stott claimed that the Radicals formed the majority and this gave them a right to at least one seat.[28]

As the drift of politics shifted towards ratepayerism and economy in the second half of the century this was reflected in new language to describe candidates. In 1887 Councillor MacDonald sought support in St. Stephen's ward, Stockbridge, on the basis that he was 'the constant opponent of all extravagance'; 'the foe of the extravagant gas purchase schemes'; 'the opposer of all jobbery and useless schemes'.[29]

When in 1888 William Brown, Cabinetmaker, retired from representing St. Stephen's ward, it was stated to be a great loss for the ratepayers, for the Council had too few men with a 'single eye' to the interests of that body and with 'no fraction of an eye to their own interests'.[30] Some candidates described themselves as 'strict economists'. In some wards there was a substantial ratepayer interest. For example, in 1988 a meeting in the Canongate ward to nominate candidates was attended by two to three hundred ratepayers.[31] Outwith the ratepayer interest organisations with a business interest valued the importance of having the right men elected. In 1889 at a meeting of the Edinburgh Merchants' Association, attention was drawn to the forthcoming municipal elections. Several members expressed the necessity of returning gentlemen who would be in favour of curtailment of the city's expenditure, and that before any scheme requiring large amounts of finance be undertaken the ratepayers were to be consulted.[32]

Political affiliation was of some importance in deciding the make-up of the Town Council. One feature, however, was the poor showing of the Tory party. Information from newspapers was sparse in indicating political allegiances, precisely because it appeared to matter so little in Edinburgh. In 1849 it was stated in the press that 'politics were now in a great measure excluded from the Council,' and referred to the lack of contest between Liberal and Whig and the Tories.[33] In the early existence

of the reformed Town Council the divide was between Whigs and Radicals, and essentially this was a divide between the interests of large and small property. Indeed the new Council of 1833 solely comprised Whigs and Radicals.[34] In 1836 the Scotsman could state that with good management on the part of the Liberals the Tories would be lucky to secure a single seat.[35] Of the fourteen councillors elected to office in 1841 all were Liberals, however, nine Tories had stood for election. In that year the political composition of the council stood at twenty-nine Liberals and four Tories and in 1843 twenty-eight Liberals and five Tories. With the boundary changes of 1856 the situation remained much the same as it had been with only four Tories holding office.[36] By 1875 the Tories could muster eight councillors, most of whom were lawyers, by contrast the Liberals found the bulk of their support coming from the petite bourgeoisie.[37] This Liberal domination of the Council through the support of the petite bourgeoisie continued to the end of the century and was then faced with a new challenge from Labour.[38]

Religious affiliation was seen by contempories as important, if not more so, as the political views of candidates. In the years preceding the Disruption of 1843 religious sectarianism was rife. In 1840 Adam Black, a Dissenter, and subsequent M.P. for the city failed to gain election to the Lord Provostship on the 'pretended cry of danger to the church'. Similarly, John Ritchie, another Dissenter, and editor of the Scotsman was unsuccessful in his quest for the same office

in 1842 when 'the old party struggles were almost entirely discarded and contests took the form either of ecclesiastical struggles or fighting out personal disputes'.[39] The importance of the religious question was apparent when it was reported that in 1842 the Council comprised twenty-one Dissenters and twelve Churchmen.[40] After the Disruption of 1843 the Free Church played an active political role, and in 1856 the Council was comprised of seventeen Free Churchmen, fourteen Dissenters, seven Established Churchmen, and one Episcopalian.[41] Religious issues were of fundamental concern to the petite bourgeoisie in the city and this was reflected in the attention paid to the religious denomination of candidates.

Of voting behaviour in Council elections little is known given the paucity of extant sources. Only one poll book has been found for the year 1840 covering the election in the first ward. Situated in the heart of the Old Town, this ward was still a predominant centre of petit bourgeois residence. Comparison between wards or over-time cannot be undertaken. Nevertheless, the information that can be extracted from this source in terms of occupation and voting preference, and political-religious persuasion is instructive. The election in this ward was contested by four candidates: Ralph Richardson, a mercantile Liberal, who with his brothers ran a tobacconist and drysalters business, he was a leading activist in free-trade movements and Liberal causes;[42] David Doud was a Dissenter and a

solicitor by profession; John Ramsay was the Dean of Guild and a noted Radical; and Whitehead was a hosier in the city.[43] All candidates were described as Liberals.

The poll book indicating the voting preference, listed the names and addresses of the voters and these were checked against the Post Office Directory for information as regards occupation. In addition to the names of the voters indications were given to their political - religious affiliation under the headings: Tory Churchman, Liberal Dissenter, and Liberal Churchman. The result of the election was a victory for Richardson and Doud, polling 270 votes and 269 respectively. The election was a close run affair for Ramsay polled 223 votes and Whitehead 216.[44] Both Richardson and Doud were leading Dissenters and supporters of Adam Black in his quest for the Lord Provostship of the city. The religious factor was of course important and serves as a reminder of the importance of religion in the life and politics of the petite bourgeoisie. It seems probable that Richardson and Dodd were Liberals in the party sense of that word and that Ramsay and Whitehead were Radicals; though all were described as Liberals.

As the evidence presented in table 7.2 indicates the majority of voters chose to exercise their votes by voting for Richardson and Dodd or for Ramsay and Whitehead. All other combinations of voting preference were

insignificant by comparison. Though on the surface there would appear to be little to differentiate occupational voting behaviour there is some evidence to suggest that small property gave greater support to Ramsay and Whitehead, the Radical candidates. The petite bourgeoisie was, of course, stratified in terms of wealth which must have had a bearing on voting behaviour.[45] Though no information is available on an individuals income a partial guide to voting patterns in terms of wealth can be suggested from the assessed rentals of those voting for Richardson and Dodd and Ramsay and Whitehead. Excluding those Tories who voted, the rental of those voting for Richardson and Dodd was some £5,662. In contrast the rental of those voting for Ramsay and Whitehead was £3,731, a difference of nearly £2,000 in each of the combined rentals. Clearly those at the lower end of the property holding scale favoured the Radicals.[46]

TABLE 7.2

Voting Preference by Occupation in the First Ward, 1840

Occupation	No.	Richardson Dodd	Ramsay Whitehead	Dodd Whitehead	Richardson	Richardson Ramsay	Ramsey	Dodd	Dodd Ramsay	Richardson Whitehead	Whitehead
Professions	21	42.9	42.9	4.8	4.8	-	-	-	-	-	4.8
Manufacturer	24	41.7	54.2	-	-	4.2	-	-	-	-	-
Merchant	21	61.9	28.6	-	-	4.8	4.8	-	-	-	-
Whitecollar (1)	7	71.4	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	14.3	-	-
Whitecollar (2)	14	28.6	35.7	-	-	14.3	-	-	14.3	7.1	-
Merchant Retailer	46	37.0	56.5	4.3	-	2.2	-	-	-	-	-
Retailer	140	58.6	36.4	0.7	0.7	-	-	0.7	0.7	0.7	-
Craftsmen Retailer	73	49.3	46.6	-	-	1.4	-	-	1.4	1.4	-
Craftsmen	38	42.1	57.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Semi-Skilled	4	75.0	-	-	-	-	-	25.0	-	-	-
Transport	3	66.7	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Property/ Untaxed	104	55.3	35.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	4.9	1.0	-	1.0	-

Source: List of the Constituency in the First District Who Voted at the Election of Councillors, 1840.

The relationship between politics and religion was an important factor in the political life and motivation of the petite bourgeoisie. From table 7.3 the link between Liberalism and Dissent was already evident by 1840 and particularly so amongst the petite bourgeoisie. Of the retailers voting in the first ward 57.9 per cent were described as Liberal Dissenters, among the craftsmen retailers it was 52.1 per cent. However, among the crafts-men it was only 34.2 per cent. Amongst the churchmen there were those who naturally favoured the Tory politic but significant numbers from the Established Church favoured the Liberal politic, and here it must be remembered that the disruption of 1843 had not yet occurred to sever the Established Church in two with the foundation of the Free Church, which was a firm supporter of the Liberal cause.

Table 7.3: Political Religious Persuasion by Occupation in the First Ward, 1840

Occupation	No.	Tory/ Churchman	Liberal/ Dissenter	Liberal/ Churchman
Professions	21	28.6	38.1	33.3
Manufacturers	24	29.2	41.7	29.2
Merchants	21	9.5	61.9	28.6
White-collar (1)	7	-	71.4	28.6
White-collar (2)	14	14.3	42.9	42.9
Merchant Retailers	46	28.3	39.1	32.6
Retailers	140	12.9	57.9	29.3
Craftsmen Retailers	73	17.8	52.1	30.1
Craftsmen	38	28.9	34.2	36.8
Semi-skilled	4	-	100.0	-
Transport	3	-	66.7	33.3
Property/Not Taxed	104	13.6	53.4	33.0

Source: As table 7.2.

Overall in this ward election it would seem that religious persuasion was more clearly a determinant of voting behaviour. As is shown in table 7.4 of the 87 Tory/Churchmen voting, and given the absence of tory candidates 96.6 per cent voted for Ramsay and Whitehead. Amongst the Liberal/ Churchmen, their religious affiliation proved the decisive factor in deciding their vote with 69 per cent voting also for Ramsay and Whitehead. Contrastingly 87.7 per cent of Liberal Dissenters voted for Richardson and Dodd.

TABLE 7.4

Voting Preference by Political/Religious Persuasion, in the First Ward, 1840

	No.	Richardson Dodd	Ramsay Whitehead	Dodd Whitehead	Richardson	Richardson Ramsay	Ramsay	Dodd	Dodd Ramsay	Richardson Whitehead	Whitehead
Tory/ Churchman	87	2.3	96.6	-	-	-	1.1	-	-	-	-
Liberal/ Dissenter	253	87.7	5.5	2.0	0.4	1.6	0.8	1.2	0.4	0.4	-
Liberal/ Churchman	155	20.0	69.0	0.6	1.3	1.9	1.9	-	2.6	1.9	0.6

Source: As table 7.2.

Liberalism and Dissent found substantial support among the petite bourgeoisie. Liberal organisation soon dominated local politics, and in the process absorbed much of small master political expression as it sought to legitimise itself in their eyes. As in Parliamentary politics the Liberals took hold in the city.

The fact that out of some 1,500 seats available on the council, between 1833 and 1895 these were filled by only 379 individuals supports a view that council elections in Edinburgh were marked by few radical changes in personel. Only occasionally were the electorate sufficiently aroused to vote incumbent candidates out of office. When such events did happen they generally co-incided with Council schemes for large amounts of expenditure; or increases in the rates. Figure 2 depicts graphically the level of political activity in the Town Council elections on the basis of newly elected councillors in the period 1833 to 1895. The result for the year 1856 when twenty-two individuals were newly elected requires some initial comment, 1856 marked the reorganisation of the city's government structure, when the Police Commission together with a few other institutions were abolished, and their powers vested in a Town Council that now had thirty-nine members instead of the previous thirty-three. The electoral activity was a result of this administrative change and a consequent competition for political office in a greatly reduced structure of office holding. Overall the pre-1850 period witnesses greater levels of political activity. The newness of the political game was in part the cause of such activity, but it too reflected the conflict between a radical petite bourgeoisie possessed of an independent political ideology and the elite in Edinburgh. Struggle between small and

large property was never so evident as it was in the 1830s and 1840s. Certain years of activity were clearly affected by specific events of considerable political importance. Thus the high level of electoral activity in the year 1843 co-incided with the Disruption of 1843 from which emerged the politically ambitious Free Church of Scotland. The early period is in marked contrast to the second half of the century. In the second a rather placid picture emerges. Only in certain years 1866, 1872, 1889 and 1890, was there marked activity. The activity of 1866 was evidently the result of the debate surrounding the proposed improvement plan and the need for an increased assessment to cover the cost. Similarly, 1872 co-incided with the high point of the political debate over the city's need for an increased supply of water which required financing. The years 1889 and 1890 when electoral activity was again high were years of substantial rates increases. The electoral activity in these years reflected ratepayer concern over increased expenditure and consequent increases in taxation.

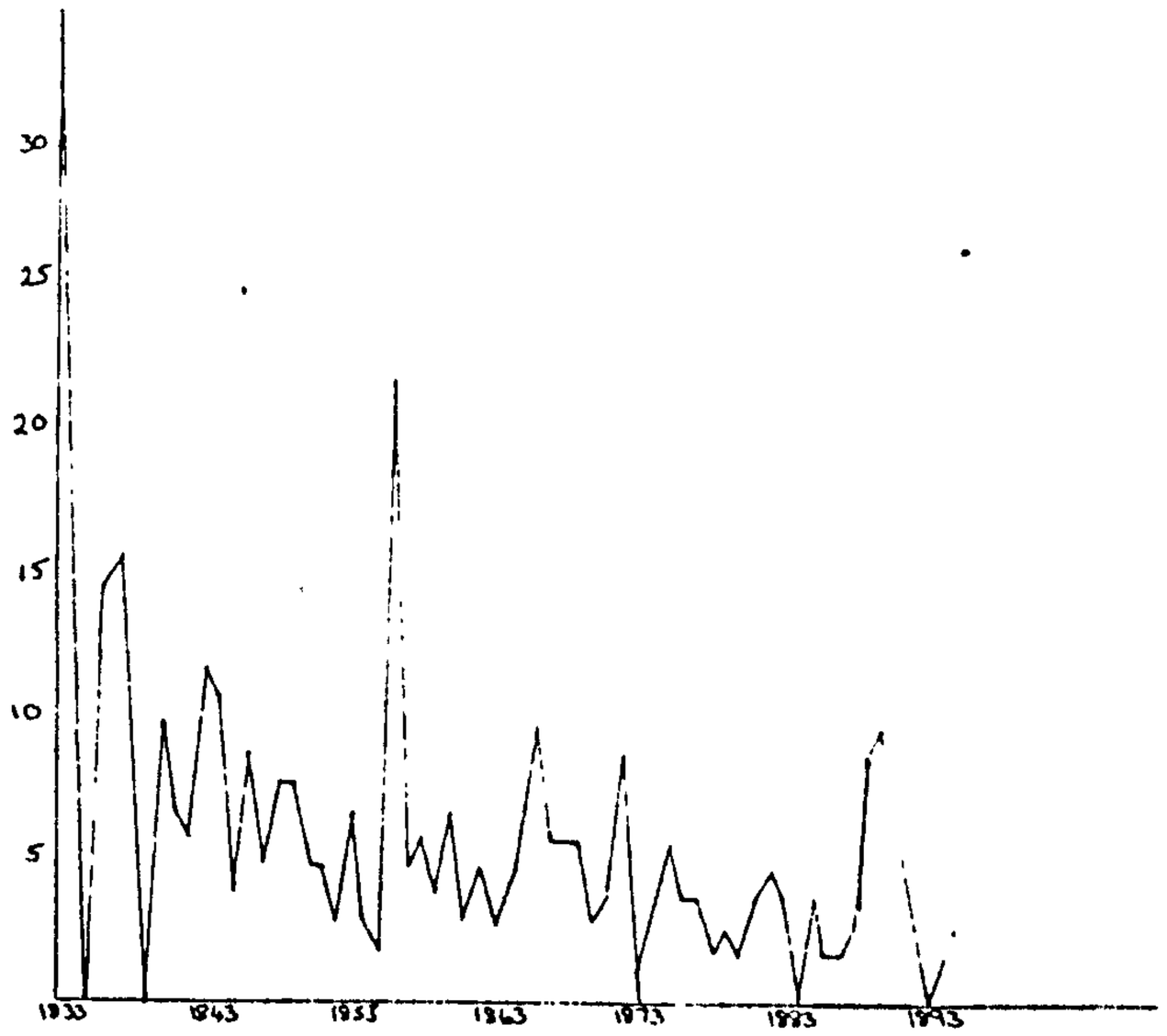

Fig.2

The picture from the graph also reflects the long term change in local politics in the city. Particularly evident is the demise of radical politics as indicated by the political activity during the 1830s and 1840s. Just as in national politics in Edinburgh, the Liberal Party came to dominate proceedings at the local level. What radicalism remained was incorporated under the heading 'Advanced Liberals'. At the same time the petite bourgeoisie in the second half of the century lost its political independence and was subsumed by the Liberals. At the same time, however, in chameleon like manner the petite bourgeoisie were capable of adapting to the changing structure of politics, and maintaning a dominant influence in local politics. For the petite bourgeoisie adopted the cause of ratepayerism and formed the backbone of the 'Economy Party'. The stability of local politics as indicated by the few changes in Town Council personnel was part testimony to the

influence of small property in the affairs of the city. It was no accident that nineteenth century Edinburgh embarked on no large scale improvements in the city, but testimony to the strength of the economy party. A compliant Town Council reflected the strength of small property on that body. Whereas economy had always been a feature of petit bourgeois politics, in the second half of the nineteenth century it was essentially the only form the politics of small property took. It marked the transformation of the group from being the political expression of small producer society based on a popular democracy, to little more than a self-interested pressure group. This change was in part the realisation that capitalism was here to stay, and with the coming of a new generation of petit bourgeois the golden past was never as golden as it was for the older generation. Political idealism quickly gave way to bread and butter issues.[47]

Elections for the Council were keenly contested in the 1830s and 1840s reflecting the struggle between the petite bourgeoisie and the urban elite. However, a poll of more than 50 per cent was a rare event.[48] In 1849 the Scotsman was drawing attention to the little apparent attention paid to the Council elections.[49] This trend continued when in 1887 and 1888 only four and three wards respectively were contested.[50] Yet the following year, when the Council threatened substantial rates increases, eleven out of the thirteen wards were contested with a 70 per cent poll.[51] If need be therefore, the economy interest was capable of mobilising.

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Issues in the first decades of the reformed Council veered between religion and economy. As one commentator stated at a meeting of the second ward in 1841 'at one time it was the Annuity Tax, at another time it was the eighteen or the thirteen ministers, and now it was the question of non-intrusion.'[52] The cry of 'economy' was heard from the earliest years of the reformed Council. For the self-elected Council had bequeathed to the city a debt which in 1833 stood at some £400,000, in addition £220,000 had been borrowed from the government to build Leith Docks in 1825.[53] Until the gradual liquidation of the debt, concern was frequently expressed as to the burden this placed on property values in the city including houses and shops.[54] Thus the ratepayers were imbued with a sense of economy.

In 1839, as a result of what the Scotsman called 'Liberal apathy', two Tories, Mr. Andrew Tait, baker, and Mr. John Urquart, perfumer, were elected to represent the fourth ward. A feature of this election was the issue of the mounting debt of the Charity Workhouse and the assessment required to liquidate it. The vote for the Tories, it was argued, would ensure that the tax would continue as a 'partial and oppressive one, which relieves the wealthy by throwing a double burden on those in middling and humble circumstances.'[55] The Liberal interest was identified as the party of economy and the equalisation of taxation, hence part of its appeal for the economy minded petite bourgeoisie.

Ratepayerism, which lay behind the politics of economy, found solid support from within the petite bourgeoisie who took exception to paying local taxes on both house and business premise. In 1852 the Edinburgh News declared that the burden of taxation in the city was more severe than anywhere else in the kingdom.[56] Ratepayers paid around 25 per cent local taxes levied on four-fifths of the actual rental.[57] Animosity was further roused with the exemption of the legal fraternity from certain taxes, notably the Annuity Tax and poor's rate. Opposition was expressed at a public meeting to oppose income tax in 1848. The meeting carried a resolution from William Chambers calling for a tax on heritable property succession instead, which would allow for 'the repeal of those taxes which press most heavily on the middle and lower classes of society'.[58]

Opposition to rates and taxes continued to find support among the petite bourgeoisie. In 1888 at the monthly meeting of the West End Merchant's Association of Edinburgh a resolution was passed calling upon the Government to relieve individual traders from the taxes 'unjustly imposed on business premises'.[59] It was again argued that the petite bourgeoisie paid disproportionately higher rates. In September 1897 Mr. Alex Darling put the shop-keepers' case to a meeting. In the year 1896-97, he argued there were some 9,345 shops in the city. The rentals of these varied from £1 to £6,000 giving an aggregate total of £621,000. The result being that nearly one fourth of

the entire city taxes were paid by shopkeepers; yet they numbered only 10,000 out of 54,000 ratepayers. Darling went on to argue the unjustness of the burden falling on small propertied shopkeepers.[60]

The issue of rates and taxes was in the second half of the nineteenth century a particular focus for the petite bourgeoisie, the more so as they were liable on both house and business premise. As a result they took the lead in the cause of ratepayerism, and the politics of ratepayerism all but replaced the populist democratic ideas that had characterised the class in the first half of the nineteenth century. Yet this transition was more the demise of political action on behalf of small property than a new found concern over economic grievances. Economic interests in defence of property, however small, had often acted as a counterbalance to the political ideals and ambitions espoused in Radicalism. Moreover, the ratepayer movement was never an agressive or continuous political stance. Ratepayer mobilisation was only possible when it co-incided with a substantial increase in rates or a threatened increase brought about by expenditure schemes undertaken by the Council. Otherwise if economy was seen to be practised then the petite bourgeoisie were fairly content. As the Edinburgh News was careful to note 'experience has, however, taught us that this vastly important subject the ratepayers of Edinburgh are not so easily aroused.'[61]

The importance of ratepayerism for the petite bourgeoisie was that it became the legitimate form of protest to which they were ready to lend their voice. As the period of liberalisation set in after mid-century it became, perhaps, the only vehicle of petit bourgeois opposition. Nevertheless the policy of retrenchment for most of the century was identified with the radicalism of the 'left' rather than the 'right'.[62]

The politics of retrenchment surfaced at almost every issue of large Council spending schemes. In 1880 plans to build a public library attracted the opposition of the 'economy' party, who forced the Council to hold a plebiscite amongst ratepayers. The plan was easily defeated.[63] An endowment of some £50,000 by the steel magnate Andrew Carnegie eventually allowed the plans to proceed.[64] The plebiscite rapidly became a tactic of the 'economy' party, sure in the knowledge that the ratepayers were unlikely to vote to tax themselves. Indeed in 1886 a plebiscite defeated plans to build new municipal buildings.[65] As long as the 'economy' party had support on the Council, and the full Council could be persuaded to call a plebiscite, there was little chance of large expenditure schemes being passed. The ratepayer party with its strong petit bourgeois involvement was thus able to maintain considerable power over the city's expenditure.

Other schemes which fell to the power of the 'economy' party included proposals to renew the city's contract for electric lighting.[66] Only in the case of monopoly did it appear that the 'economy' party was prepared to give way on the issue of public expenditure. In Edinburgh the gas supply, was controlled by the Edinburgh Gas Light Company. In 1887 the monopoly position of the company was challenged in the Council by Councillor Colston, printer, who moved that:

> in the opinion of the Town Council, it is expedient in the public interest, that the manufacture and supply of gas should be in the hands of the Corporation; and that it be remitted to the Lord Provost's Committee to consider the best mode of carrying this revolution into effect, and to report.[67]

In 1888 the Gas Purchase Bill was passed in both Houses of Parliament. There had been opposition to the scheme but this appeared more muted than in other cases. Moreover, by taking gas into more democratic control there was even greater opportunity for the ratepayers to ensure that strictest economy would be adhered to.

The passiveness of local electoral politics together with the strength of the policy of retrenchment reflected the power of the petite bourgeoisie in local government. Political decisions were actively taken in the interests of small property. This was particularly exemplified in the politics of improvement and water.

THE POLITICS OF IMPROVEMENT AND WATER

Within the local sphere of politics, two issues, those of improvement and water supply, were frequently central issues of conflict. This was because of the singularly large expenditure required on such schemes. The debate was essentially focused around those in the petite bourgeoisie who had increasingly adopted an economy minded outlook, and those within the political leadership of Edinburgh who wished to pursue politics of widespread improvement in line with the 'civic gospel'. In part this reflected a conflict of outlook between large and small property. Small property, which the petit bourgeois leadership championed, felt that in the eventuality it would be upon themselves that the burden of such gospel schemes would fall. However, running through this debate was perhaps the more important issue of how best the ruling and intermediate class should approach the problem of the working class. A section of the petite bourgeoisie, those in the vanguard of radicalism, had advocated the community of small producers, a community of interests, based on ideals of petit bourgeois democracy and humanitarianism. Such views continued among a small section of the Town Council who were either petit bourgeois themselves, or shared the humanitatian convictions of this section of the small master community. Yet, at bottom, this was also an attempt to immobilise the latent strength of a potentially socially and politically motivated working-class geared to

achieving some reform of the social and economic structure towards their own independent interest. Moreover, the petite bourgeoisie had long recognised the necessity of drawing upon working-class support. That support was in part to be obtained by improving the social condition of the working-class whilst at the same time hoping to prevent that class from taking independent action of a far greater, and in the eyes of the petite bourgeoisie far serious kind.

Yet the petite bourgeoisie were caught between the political idealism of their democratic society and the need for economy. The political idealism that had characterised the 1830s and 1840s evaporated in the heat of economic consideration. Political idealism gave way to economism and a ratepayer outlook. The shift to economism was a result of two developments. Firstly, by 1850, there was a new generation of petit bourgeois far removed from the struggles of the first decades of the nineteenth century. Secondly, both the old and the new generation had come to accept that society had changed. In short, capitalism, and the break up of the old ways, was here to stay. The remarkable feature of the petite bourgeoisie was their ability to adapt and to create a politic that was best suited to their interests in a society where they could not hope to establish outright control. That politic was ratepayerism. Such was the power of the economy party that, unlike other cities, the gospel of improvement was never as successful in Edinburgh as elsewhere.

Although Edinburgh, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, possessed an Improvement Commission, little transformation of the social and urban environment took place in this period. This was in part due to radical pressure in the city. William Tait, the radical publisher, published in 1831 a pamphlet: The Improvement Mongers Exposed? in which he attacked the tax levied by the Improvement Commissioners. The tax was a 'gross injustice . . . which has aroused the indignation of the community.' Tait called for an end to their management and the placing of the commission in the hands of persons with the confidence of the public. Unless this was done 'we shall not cease to hold them up as jobbers of the very worst species, to expose them as persons, who, screening themselves under the wing of a popular commission, are plundering the citizens, after having involved them in a most ruinous speculation, which has no parallel we believe in the history of any other city.'[68] Two themes are evident the need for economy, and the need for popular control of such institutions. It was an outlook that was to dominate much of petit bourgeois thinking.

For the first half of the century the reformed Town Council laboured under the debt incurred by the old oligarchal council. In these circumstances improvement schemes were considered on a piecemeal basis. This was particularly true of sanitary reform. Any scheme which involved an increase on the rates was likely to be opposed. Typical of the opposition to sanitary improvement involving

considerable expenditure was manifested in a plan prepared by Councillor Drysdale, and submitted to the Town Council in 1839. Drysdale's plan was for covered drains to be built to carry Edinburgh's foul water to the sea which at the then present time was carried by burn and river. This in his opinion would prevent fever and disease. However, opposition on the Council led by Councillor Bell, advocate, argued that Drysdale was too alarmist, and that the estimated cost of £4,400 entailing 3d on the rental for one year was not within the city's reach.[69] Even at this early date on the Council, there were signs of an economy party.

The petit bourgeois presence in the Town Council ensured that the need for economy was a distinct feature of the discussions over improvement schemes in the city. The strength of the economy party was such that between 1833 and 1900 the council never embarked on any substantial scheme for inner city development. The one exception was the improvement scheme of 1867. Even here, however, it could be argued that but for the collapse of a tenement building in the High Street in 1861, plans for improvement would have lain on the shelf. The death of thirty-five persons aroused a measure of public concern and swung support towards the planners. Yet the motives were less concerned with the living environment of the working-class inhabitants and more with opening up the city in the interests of trade and commerce.

Following the collapse of the tenement, it took another five years before concrete proposals were discussed. In 1866 under the guidance of the Lord Provost, William Chambers, leading printer and publisher, a plan was laid before the Council showing various districts of the town which it proposed should 'be opened up, and otherwise improved'. However, the first plan was withdrawn over opposition to the cost to the ratepayer and a second modified scheme placed before the Council for its consideration. The scheme was to cost around £120,000 and would have involved an increase on the rental of just under 3d per pound for twenty years.[70] The inclusion of the Chambers Street development raised the projected cost by £29,000 and ensured that the increased rental would reach the 3d mark.

Opposition to the scheme grew apace with the proposals as they became public. Out of the thirteen wards in the city twelve demonstrated their opposition to the scheme.[71] Moreover, those wards outside the district concerned forwarded resolutions opposing the scheme to the Council.[72] As a result of this pressure from the ratepayers the Council agreed that the assessment be limited to 2d per pound for a period not exceeding twenty years. Moreover, it was agreed to proceed with the development block at a time in order to modify or halt the plan at any time if necessary.[73] Within the Council the economy party led by Bailie Falshaw, civil engineer, and Bailie Russel, gentleman, failed to delay proceeding with the development plan on a vote of

twenty-one for and sixteen against going ahead with the scheme.[74] Opposition receded, but was raised again in October 1866 when Bailie Millar, gentleman, and Bailie Russel moved:

> 'That in respect of the very extensive character of the Sanitary Improvement Scheme now under consideration, and the very large amount of taxation that will be required for the completion of it, and that, as the ratepayers have had no opportunity of expressing their opinions in reference thereto, and as the annual meeting of the Wards takes place in the course of this present month when an opportunity will be afforded to all the ratepayers in the city of giving expression to their opinions respecting the proposed measure. Resolve that the further consideration of this scheme be delayed until the next month.'

This was lost by twenty-two votes to twelve.[75] Several councilors including the old radical Joseph Hood Stott took the opportunity to publicly dissociate themselves from the decision to proceed; though for reasons that were not entirely made clear. Yet it is probable that these men were in sympathy with the views expressed by David Lewis, a small master shoemaker who was in time to become editor of the Reformer, and a writer and spokesman for the Temperance Movement. Lewis lay in the radical tradition of the petite bourgeoisie that sought to unite small property and the working-class in common political cause. Lewis supported the need for improvement in the social conditions of workers, and had voted for the principle of improvement but opposed the present plan.

At a meeting of the Council on November 27th 1866 Lewis opposed proposals to levy an assessment of 4d per pound to pay for the scheme. In turn Lewis moved the following:

> 'recognising the need to alleviate overcrowding and improve sanitary conditions, expressing concern over the rate of assessment required, the lack of provision for evicted families, the making of roads that were not entirely consistent with sanitary improvement and that existing Police Acts could be supplemented by a Provisional order to make the necessary improvements; to defer applying to Parliament for an Improvement Act which would allow time to provide adequate house accommodation.'

He was defeated by twenty-three votes to fifteen.[76]

Lewis had directed his attack on two levels. Firstly, to curb any unnecessary expenditure and secondly to question the motivation of the scheme itself. Here Lewis questioned the emphasis on road building as opposed to the building of houses for those displaced by the scheme. In short the scheme had greater repercussions for the business community than it did for the people. He noted that the scheme intended to destroy more property than it planned to build. Moreover, no provision was made for the creation of open spaces within the designated improvement area.[77] In the end the efforts of Lewis came to nothing and the Edinburgh Improvement Bill received the Royal assent on May 31st, 1867. Lewis had, however, in the best radical tradition continued to express genuine interest in the lot of the masses both as a step towards social emancipation, and of containment.

The Act of 1867 was singularly important in that with little exception it was the only improvement of size and expenditure to pass through the Council chamber in the period 1833 to 1900. The entrenched economy group on the Council found support from, and were alive to the wishes of, small property. Needless extravagance was seen in almost every field of expenditure. In 1839 a scheme to drain the meadows to create parkland met opposition on the grounds of expense.[78] Similarly the appointment of Dr. Littlejohn as Medical Officer of Health under the provisions of the Health of Towns Bill, was only passed by the Town Council by seventeen votes to sixteen. The opposition was based largely on the grounds of expense.[79]

The pursuit of economy did not easily square with the political and social aims of the petite bourgeoisie that had been expressed throughout the radical period. Many of the petite bourgeoisie were ruled more by the constraints of economy than by political idealism. Alex Colston, a small master printer, in a letter to the Scotsman on the subject of a meeting in Buccleuch Church called to oppose the Health of Towns Bill was called in his opinion by a 'knot of petty landlords in the Southern Districts who are shocked that they should be called upon by the provisions of the bill to improve their properties so as to render them fit for human beings to live in'.[80]

The 'Sanitary Reform Party' in Edinburgh saw most of their plans come to nothing in the wake of what they considered petty self interests. A letter writer to the Scotsman was forthright in his condemnation:

> 'One word to the short sighted whose opposition to purifying our towns originates in their pockets. I would say to them, "look to your pockets, not with your eyes shut, but with your eyes open". Next to those chief of sinners the sectarian obstructors of general education, stand the resisters of sanitary reform in responsibility for the flood of pauperism whose course is rapid towards general ruin. . . . The burden of poor rates, prisons, and hospitals is light to what it threatens to be; and the immense enemies of purification, whom the cholera spares, will yet bitterly resent their successful opposition'.[81]

The success of the economy party meant that sanitary progress in the city was very much a piecemeal affair. For example between the years 1867 to 1870 1,858 water closets were installed into existing dwellings which were accompanied by external drainage works.[82] At the same time, however, there was a pressing need for house building to alleviate severe over-crowding strikingly displayed in Dr. Bell's 'Days and Nights in the Wynds of Edinburgh. Though Bell's work probably shocked its Victorian audience, its impact did little to soften the views of the economy party. The Council was long opposed to housebuilding on a municipal basis for ideological as well as financial reasons. Not until 1900 did it embark on a municipal housing programme.[83]

By far the most important issue in the politics of improvement in Edinburgh was the question of, and conflict over, the water supply. Again this was an issue that reflected the concern over economy particularly from small property. The responsibility for providing a water supply in Edinburgh had until 1819 rested with the Town Council. An act of parliament in that year conferred this responsibility on a newly formed joint stock water company.[84] A share capital of £135,000 was issued in shares of £25. The Lord Provost, Magistrates and Town Council were to possess £30,000 worth of shares, no doubt as a form of ratepayer protection.[85] The ratepayer interest was further guaranteed against the company's monopoly by the inclusion of a clause prohibiting the water rate from rising above 5 per cent on the Police Commission assessment on each house.[86] From the first therefore the question of economy had been of prime consideration in the water supply issue.

As a profit making organisation the Water Company was not entirely happy with the provisions under which it had come into existence. In 1837 the company introduced a Bill into Parliament with a view to appointing their own surveyor with powers to value property in the city for assessment purposes. The Scotsman warned that such powers would leave the inhabitants at the mercy of the company and urged the ratepayers to join with the Town Council in opposing the bill.[87] In August 1838 the Council raised the question of the Water Company's right to levy a rate

at a higher rental than that of the Police assessment.[88] A similar matter was raised by the Police Commission some seven years later in July 1845, emphasising that little could be done to prevent the company from acting as they wished; as long as the rental was not exorbitant.[89] There was, however, growing concern over the monopolist position of the company.[90]

Meanwhile the water company had continued to pursue a policy of attempting to extend its powers by introducing bills to Parliament. In 1843 Duncan McLaren criticised the company on behalf of the ratepayers of the city for seeking to 'increase our taxes to the extent of £3,500 a year'[91] Moreover, there was general feeling that the financial standing, and the consequent quality of the service offered by the company could not cope with the needs of urbanisation. In 1844 negotiations started between the Town Council and the water company with a view to its transfer to a public trust. Opposition succeeded in preventing the take over of the company on the grounds that it was more of a lame duck than a viable asset.[92] To complicate the issue, Edinburgh got its second water company by act of Parliament in 1845. Again there were proposals for a public trust merging the two companies together. A special meeting of the Town Council, however, unanimously supported a resolution by the radical Joseph Hood Stott not to pursue the proposal on the grounds of finance and the quality of the water. A meeting of the Council later

recinded the motion of the special meeting by fourteen votes to eleven, but under the weight of ratepayer opposition the matter of a public trust was conveniently dropped.[93]

The quality and supply of water to the city continued to receive sporadic comment and criticism. The sanitary loby under the guidance of Dr. Littlejohn, William Chambers and James Gowans recognised the need for an increased supply as part of any long term sanitary improvement policy. From 1868 to 1874 the water question dominated local politics. The particularly dry summer of 1868 together with the commitment of Councillor David Lewis to an increased quality supply were important in turning the tap on in the debate.[94] A special committee of the Town Council was set up to investigate the poor supply and to report on the finances of the two water companies on a motion of Lewis that was carried twenty-four votes to four.[95] Once again the question of a public trust was muted which was made all the easier by government legislation in 1856.[96]

By 1871 a water trust had been proposed and plans drawn up to secure a supply of water from St. Mary's Loch. This initial proposal was defeated by a public outcry fanned by the economy party and its supporters on the Town Council.[97] Whilst opposition was said by James Colston to be based on animalculae in the water, and its excessive softness, there is little doubt that considerations of economy were also at the root of such opposition. In January 1871 Bailie

Millar, gentleman, and Bailie Howden, wine merchant, led the opposition in the Town Council against the St. Mary's Loch scheme, which was intended to supply 24,000,000 gallons of water per day. This, they argued, was far in excess of the city's requirements. Moreover, the expenditure of at least £300,000 was too excessive. They proposed that the Council delay proceeding with the scheme until the ratepayers and the water trust were given time to consider and arrange for another scheme at far less cost to the ratepayers. The motion however was lost.[98]

The scheme launched by Lewis received a measure of support. However, public opinion was such that a large meeting was called to oppose the scheme in the Queen's Park. Moreover resolutions from the working men of Edinburgh, Leith and Portobello were forwarded to the Council opposing the scheme.[99] Conflict within the Council Chamber was brought to a head when in July 1871 the Council voted to oppose by nineteen votes to eighteen, with three abstentions, the St. Mary's Loch Bill in the House of Lords.[100] This peculiar state of affairs was settled by an agreement to consider other surveys and an agreement reached that these be submitted to the ratepayers for their consideration and opinion.[101] This marked a partial victory for the economy party in letting the ratepayers have the final say. Though there were those who opposed the implementation of any scheme. After various schemes were drawn up and submitted the Lord Provost's committee recommended that the Council favour the Moorfoot

scheme and that a plebescite be held to ascertain the wishes of the ratepayers. In October 1873 voting papers were issued to registered electors in the city, this was not entirely restricted to ratepayers but neither was it universal. The results were as follows:

Papers issued.....	24,832
Late or disqualified votes.....	1,306
Approve of Town Council's proceedings...	5,250
With vote for a specific supply.....	2,809
Without a vote for a specific source....	2,444

Votes for Specific Schemes

Moorfoot.....	4,553
Heriot.....	81
Lyne.....	28
Manor.....	133
Falla.....	151
St. Mary's Loch.....	4,986

A protest from ratepayers in the city that they had not received papers and that the ballot had been issued to registered voters and not to the ratepayers of the city alone was received by the Town Council. But no action was taken.[102] Although in the votes for scecific schemes the St. Mary's Loch one had come out on top with 4,986 votes, 5,250 had voted to agree to the recommendations of the Town Council. As a result therefore the Moorfoot scheme was proceeded with which passed Parliament in 1874. Bailie Howden, attempted a last defence of the petite bourgeois interests, by moving on the Council that a limit of £120 shop rental be placed on the assessment for the scheme. This was defeated by eighteen votes to seven.[103]

The debate over improvement and water in Edinburgh reflected the concern of small property for economy. For the petite bourgeoisie were fearful that they as a class would bear the brunt of taxation to pay for schemes. The relative strength of the petite bourgeoisie in the local politics of the city saw the Town Council, anxious to legitimise its position in the face of the ratepayers, pursue a policy that might best be described as the politics of inaction. Edinburgh embarked on no gospel of improvement in the nineteenth century beyond measures, like water, which were more often than not dictated by pressing circumstances.[104]

THE POLICE COMMISSION

From 1772 to 1856 local government in Edinburgh was essentially based on a two tier system comprising the Town Council and the Police Commission. To the Police Commission had devolved the bread and butter issues of politics. It was responsible for lighting, cleansing and the policing of the city. In contrast to the unreformed Town Council the Police Commission was partly elected on the basis of a ratepayer democracy. The Commission comprised: the Lord Provost, the four Bailies, Dean of Guild, Treasurer, Deacon Convenor of Trades, Sheriff Depute, first resident Bailie of the Canongate, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, Deputy Keeper of the Signet, Master of the Merchant Company, President of the Solicitors before the

Supreme Court, Convenor of the Southern Districts, together with thirty-two general and sixty-four resident commissioners who were elected each December. It was these latter two groups that were elected on the basis of ratepayer democracy, and for this purpose the city was divided into thirty-two wards.[106]

The Police Commission had the power to fix the rates for policing, lighting, cleansing, and it had the power to levy rates for special situations when they arose. Typical of the rating structure was that for 1839:

	Watching	Lighting	Cleansing	Total
Above £10 of Rental	10d	5d	1d	1s 4d
Under £10 of Rental	5d	2d	1d	8d

The structure was intended to benefit those paying rental on property under £10 in annual rental. Many of whom were petit bourgeois with white collar and artisan groups also prominent. In 1838 the total assessment on the rental below £10 had amounted to 10d. In 1839 this was reduced to 8d and constituted something of a victory for small property. As Mr. McCaulay commented 'this class of inhabitants . . . felt the pressure of taxation, and to them it would be a most seasonable relief.'[107]

For the petite bourgeoisie, possibly paying an assessment on both house and business premise, control of and representation on this body was important to safeguard the interests

and rights of small property. In addition the Commission controlled the city's police force. As well as this the Police Commission was a source of quiet patronage and as a body conferred a measure of social status on those elected. Moreover, it appears to have been something of a training ground for those who wished to become Town Councillors. Table 7.5 is an occupational breakdown of those commissioners elected to serve, and whose names were recorded in the Scotsman from 1833 to 1856. It was possible to trace the occupations of some five hundred Commissioners and the following trends can be established. Of the elite in the city the professional group was clearly of singular importance and accounted for some 22.8 per cent of newly elected Commissioners. Amongst the petit bourgeois groupings the retailers and the craftsmen retailers accounted for some 18 per cent of Commissioners respectively. This probably reflected the greater potential of these groups to take time off from their business activities. That the Police Commission was of crucial importance for the petite bourbeoisie in the conflict for power in the city is broadly indicated by the fact that if those occupational groupings that made up the petite bourgeoisie are added together then they accounted for 55.6 per cent of Commissioners newly elected in the period 1833 to 1856. In comparison the elite groupings accounted for 32.9 per cent.

Though within the Police Commission there was a struggle between the elite and the petite bourgeoisie, particularly over the issue of economy, elections were not always keenly

contested affairs. In 1853 for example it was reported that 'there was little interest shown in the election, the poll-books in several of the wards having been closed with only a single vote registered. Only two of the wards were contested numbers 12 and 32'.[108] Yet neither should this be construed as apathy for often it reflected the satisfaction of the ratepayers with the work of the Commissioners. Meetings of ward committees to nominate candidates were frequent.[109] Moreover, election results might be contested. In 1841, James Robertson, confectioner, and other electors in the ninth ward were successful in having a re-election in favour of the radical William Tait, on the grounds of irregularities in the counting procedure.[110] The elections of the Commissioners were important and were treated as such. In 1849 large placards were posted in the city, urging the electors to come forward and support only candidates who favoured strict economy in the police establishment.[111]

Table 7.5: Occupational Breakdown of those Elected to the Police Commission 1833-56

Occupational Group	No.	%	
Professional	120	22.8	
Manufacturer	11	2.1	
Merchant	42	8.0	32.9
Whitecollar 2	24	4.6	
Whitecollar 1	8	1.5	6.1
Merchant Retailers	38	7.2	
Retailers	97	18.4	
Craftsmen-Retailers	95	18.0	
Craftsmen	55	10.4	
Semi-skilled	4	0.8	
Transport	14	0.8	55.6
Not given or unknown	29	5.5	5.5
	527	100.1	

Source: Scotsman

In 1838 the True Scotsman, the organ of the Radical/Chartist alignment, drew the attention of its readership to the importance of the Edinburgh Police Commission, when it stated:

> 'They desire your civic and political slavery from an assumption that they are wiser than you. We wish they could be convinced of their error. They have the power of levying from your resources £32,000 an iniquitous, tyrannic power, which, we trust will speedily be destroyed. With Radical Reform will come borough; and then far more rigid economy than we doubt had been hitherto practised'.[112]

The watchword of economy that had its support amongst the ranks of small property was a dominant feature in the debates over policy in the Commission. In 1839 when the proposal of Councillor Drysdale to implement a drainage scheme for the city was discussed, it was the considered view of the Commission that whilst they would not oppose investigation on this matter, they however 'hoped nothing was intended to be done by the board that would create expense, or tax the inhabitants'.[113] Decisions of the Commission reflected the strength of the petite bourgeoisie on the body. In 1841 a recommendation by the lighting committee to erect sixty lamps in Grange Loan was rejected on the grounds of a previous decision not to light the Loan, but it was noted that this business was before the Commission because a 'respectable' person had petitioned the lighting committee to erect the lamp standards.[114]

Within the Commission lay responsibility for the city's Police force. Again the question of economy and maxiumm efficiency were characteristic of the policy debates. The issue of expense, however, was not easily reconciled with demands for increased protection. In 1844 after a spate of crime in the city the superintendent of Police called upon the Commission to increase the number of men on the force. After lengthy debate a motion agreeing an increase was carried.[115] In less than two years calls were subsequently made for a reduction in police numbers together with a plea to attract a better class of men in order to create a better physical, moral and efficient force. Yet to attract such men raised the question of wages to be paid. Wages in 1846 were between 10 and 11s which were said to compare with that of ordinary labourers. Whilst it was agreed to increase the wages bill by £300 this was only accomplished after lengthy debate. Police Commissioner Richardson 'objected on the grounds that the public paid enough taxes already. He alluded to his own position whereby he paid local assessment to the value of 45.7 per cent on the rental.[116] Though the economy party were here defeated in the interests of long term efficiency, in March 1847 a decision to increase the number of plain clothes officers in order to suppress public begging was defeated eighteen votes to eleven on the grounds of expense.[117] Moreover, the whole economic finances of the Policy were to come under scrutiny when Dr. Renton moved: 'That a select committee be appointed to investigate into and

report upon the annual accounts of the Police establishment for the last ten years . . . as might increase the efficiency and diminish the expense of the establishment.'[118]

With substantial petit bourgeois representation on the Police Commission it was only under extreme circumstances that the Commission was prepared to increase the assessment on property. In 1848 the visitation of the Cholera sparked off attempts to improve sanitation through enforced cleaning and lime washing. This entailed the employment of a large surfeit of labour.[119] Despite the efforts of small property and the economy party it was sometimes only too evident that sanitary problems and conditions could not be ignored forever. Indeed problems could only get worse if left untackled. In 1855 Duncan McLaren remarked 'that it was a great scandal on the city of Edinburgh that there should be in the very heart of the city, and that not in a wretched locality, a block of buildings without any drainage'. As a result of such public pronouncements the Police Commission agreed to embark on what was to be its last major works programme, that was a scheme to lay almost four miles of drainage in the Nicholson Street area at a cost of £7,480.[120]

Petit bourgeois action on the Police Commission was designed to keep expenditure down to a minimum, to prevent the elite in Edinburgh from controlling the institution and pursuing what was seen as extravagant schemes for improving the

economic and social condition of the city. In this respect small property was fairly successful in holding down the rates and only under pressing circumstances was further expenditure sanctioned.

POOR RELIEF

Like the Police Commission the power vested in the bodies of poor relief in the nineteenth century rested in their power of assessment. Within the functions of the various bodies the question of economy and its tie up with small property formed the economic background to debate. Once more the particular relationship of the ruling and transitional class and strata to the working-class was at issue. Political debate within these institutions was as much an issue of class as anything else. Conflict arose between the interest of small and large property. Moreover, the element of conflict was intensified because like the Annuity Tax, the College of Justice, which included judges advocates, lawyers and their clerks, as well as the King's household and the King's tradesmen, was also by statute exempt from the payment of taxes for the upkeep of the poor. As a result the wealthiest sector of the city escaped taxation, but at the same time were often found to be represented on the governing bodies of poor relief.

Prior to the Poor Law Act Scotland of 1845 the management of the poor by law was vested in landward parishes, in the minister, heritors and elders of the parish; in the burghs in the magistrates and town council. However, in practice the management in both urban and rural districts devolved almost entirely on the Kirk Sessions.[121] In this way the church collection was an essential method of raising revenue. However, from 1740 in Edinburgh a City Workhouse was established the upkeep of which was based on the levying of a poor rate.[122] The government of this establishment was placed in the hands of nearly one hundred managers elected by the Town Council, the Kirk Sessions, the Guildry, the Incorporated Trades, the Court of Session, the Faculty of Advocates, the Writers to the Signet, the Episcopal clergy, the College of Physicians and the University. There was then elected an executive committee of fifteen, meeting weekly. Unlike the Police Commission the Ratepayers had no say in the election of officials which effectively excluded the petite bourgeoisie from securing representation on this body.

From 1740 to 1811, with only one exception, the assessment for the upkeep of the Charity Workhouse had not risen above 2 per cent on the rental. In 1833 the assessment was 6 per cent.[123] This rise in the assessment coupled with the failure to diminish or in reality cope with the growing number of paupers raised questions among small property as to how much the burden of the poor should fall on their

shoulders. Dr. Chalmers had already begun to question the sagacity of finance as a panacea for the problem of the poor. His views found support amongst small property who saw the future as one where the burden could only increase.[124]

At the Kirk Session level conflict between the interests of the heritors and the administrators of the poor relief manifested itself as a result of increasing financial burdens. The workings of St. Cuthbert's Kirk Session was scrutinised by a committee of the heritors in 1835.[125] As a consequence, the heritors argued that certain church funds, notably the burying ground fund together with the funds derivable from the Session Clerk's Office be made available to relieve the poor; and at the same time relieve the burden on those heritors contributing to the upkeep of the poor. For it was found that between 1813 and 1833 the expenditure had nearly trebled from £2,170 to £5,632. In addition expenditure in the Charity Workhouse was said to have risen by over £500 a year from 1832, and that the 'out-pension list' was increasing at an alarming rate. The heritors of St. Cuthbert's accused the Kirk Session of failing to collect the assessment in any systematic way which might have alleviated the economic burden on those that were contributing. By 1839 an assessment was agreed upon of 11d per pound of rental.[126] In this respect there was an attempt to equalise the burden.

The Charity Workhouse was placed under similar scrutiny, despite the fact that it had long laboured under inadequate finances.[127] The problem of finance was exacerbated by the cholera epidemic of 1832. The managers overspent and accumulated a large debt which by the late 1830s was around £1,400.[128] The Charity Workhouse debt gave vent to those who opposed the exemption of the College of Justice. In 1836 the general managers of the Charity Workhouse called a meeting of the ratepayers of Edinburgh for the express purpose of forwarding a Bill to Parliament for equalising the system of taxation and doing away with all exemptions.[129] Over 260 ratepayers called upon the Lord Provost to call a public meeting to discuss proceeding with the Bill, which was duly held in February 1836. Resolutions in favour of proceeding with the Bill were passed. It was a victory for small property who felt that taxation 'fell on those less able to bear them'.[130] Though an ultimate failure ensued in that the Bill did not pass Parliament.

As noted previously the Charity Workhouse Managers were elected by interest groups in the city with little or no representation from the ratepayers. The petite bourgeoisie in the vanguard of the ratepayer interests took particular offence to the fact that in 1840 thirty three out of one hundred managers did not in fact contribute to the tax.[131] The role of the lawyer class on the management committee brought condemnation from those who opposed the wealth and

power of this group and the place accorded them in the affairs of the city. One of the managers, a Mr. Robertson caught the essence of the petit bourgeois antipathy when he remarked that the lawyers were 'exceedingly apt to be liberal in their gifts and lax in their discipline.'[132] Here conflict was based on the correct approach of how to combat the problem of working-class poverty. Opposition from small property was thoroughly against the principal of increasing financial paternalism. The petite bourgeoisie had long accepted concepts of individualism and independence, and many within the class applied the logic and practice of these beliefs not only to themselves but to the working-class. The solution to the problem of poverty among sections, if not all of the working-class, was to create a spirit of self reliant individualism rather than for the petite bourgeoisie to continue to put their hands into their pockets. In 1840 such a position was evident in the refusal of the Town Council under the guidance of Treasurer Duncan McLaren to refuse to countenance a request to raise the assessment for poor relief in the city beyond 6 per cent, because it would be 'injurious to the property of the city'.[133]

In 1841 the managers of the Charity Workhouse took matters a stage further by threatening to resign if the assessment was not raised to 7 per cent. The Town Council was not to be blackmailed and the resignations never materialised. Instead the managers agreed to take steps to alleviate the burden by removing the 'vagrant and foreign poor from the

bounds of the royalty'.[134] The assessment question was a again before the managers in 1842. Joseph Hood Stott, radical, argued the necessity for economy, but his motion to retain the assessment at 6 per cent with a contingent half per cent was defeated once more in favour of a 7 per cent assessment.[135] However, when the motion was again before the Town Council they voted to retain the assessment at 6 per cent in spite of the managers' motion.[136] Stott once more demonstrated the radical petit bourgeois concern with the necessity of economy when in 1843 as a newly elected Town Councillor he urged those Councillors who were also managers of the Charity Workhouse to attend the forthcoming meeting to defeat an 'attempt on the part of the privileged portion of the managers' to increase the salary of the treasurer.[137]

In January 1844 the Town Council took steps to relinquish the Charity Workhouse debt; thus easing the pressure on the assessment. To this end a Bill was introduced in Parliament that aimed not only to relinquish the debt, but also to abolish the constitution of the Charity Workhouse.[138] With the agreement of the managers the bill passed Parliament in May. The result was a clear victory for small property in the city. Power was given to the Town Council to appoint interim managers as a prelude to a scheme which would see the ratepayers themselves appoint 'properly qualified managers' to oversee the affairs of the Charity Workhouse; thus replacing control by interest groups.[139] As such it

marked a victory for the ideas of petit bourgeois democratic control. The incumbent managers by way of protest took the step of resigning en masse.

In less than a year the new Scottish Poor Law was introduced which in part prevented the ratepayers from gaining control of the management of the Charity Workhouse. Moreover, it radically altered the structure of poor relief in Edinburgh.[140] Without dwelling too much on the consequences of the re-structuring of the relief system it did have important consequences for the petite bourgeoisie. In particular the forty-fifth clause of the act abolished the privileges of those who had previously enjoyed exemption from payment of poor rates. In addition the legislation introduced a partial system of ratepayer democracy. Both constituted limited gains for small property.[141] However, both the urban elite and the petite bourgeoisie were far from happy over developments in the countryside. The Lord Provost's Committee in particular took exception to clause one of the act in relation to the question of heritors who were defined as 'those persons only whose lands or heritages are of not less than five pounds scots of valued rent'. In effect this 'would throw the whole power into the hands of the landed aristocracy to the exclusion of small proprietors, and of feuars, and proprietors of dwelling houses, manufactories etc.'[142] The higher property values in the city meant that small property in Edinburgh was less affected than in landward parishes.

In a debate over the legislation in the Town Council, Councillor Thomas Russel, ironmonger, argued that clause twenty-nine was also suspect from the view point of small property. This clause specified that no person could be elected to a Parochial Board in landward parishes, unless a proprietor of land to the value of at least £20 per year; or a tenant with a rental of at least £40. Russel argued that everyone who paid poor rates without exception should be eligible for election to a Parochial Board. Such a step would have guaranteed significant representation on the boards from the ranks of small property. Yet Councillor Lothian, Solicitor, attempted to defend the interests of wealth and power, arguing that the clause ought to remain on the grounds that the 'possession of property was the only test, though a very defective one, by which a person could be considered fit for such an office.' However, the strength of feeling on the Council was such that a motion from Russel condemnatory of clause twenty-nine was passed without a division.[143]

The franchise and procedure for the election of parochial board managers in urban parishes varied according to custom; but from the petit bourgeois point of view the procedures were based on some form of ratepayer democracy. Indeed petit bourgeois acceptance of the new Poor Law in Scotland was conditional on wider democratic control. Along with the City Parochial Board Edinburgh possessed five other boards of management. The largest and most important of these

five was the St. Cuthbert's Parochial Board.[144] The City Parochial Board had jurisdiction over the city parish comprising the Royalty. Managers were elected annually on the last Wednesday of January. The Board of Supervision, the central controlling body, decided that the City Board was to consist of twenty-five elected members; five members from each of five wards into which the Royalty had been divided for administrative purposes. In addition the combined Kirk sessions returned four members and the magistrates another four. The board thus comprised thirty three members holding office for one year. Elected managers had to be owners or occupiers within the parish of property with an annual value of at least nine-tenths of real rent of £20. Thus a certain amount of exclusivity was present as to who could take office. Though there was an open voting system, the voting allocation was biased in favour of wealth and power, for more than one vote could be exercised depending on the extent of property a person held:

Under £20	1 vote
Over £20 and under £40	2 votes
Over £40 and under £60	3 votes
Over £60 and under £100	4 votes
Over £100 and under £500	5 votes
Over £500	6 votes

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This was a clear indication of an attempt to stem the control of the petite bourgeoisie over the institution. Indeed the Town Council after debating the issue agreed unanimously that all ratepayers be entitled to only one vote.[146] Despite

this opposition the procedure was adopted. Though anyone paying the poors' rate did have the right to a vote. Exceptions were married women, those unable to pay rates and those with property values under £4. This excluded vast numbers of the working-class from this franchise. Moreover, voting was held during the day which probably excluded those working-class who did possess a vote; and no doubt a section of the small master community as well.[147]

The operation of the City Parochial Board had then effectively excluded many petit bourgeois from office. A matter which they were not content to let rest. In 1848 a Mr. Boyle proposed that a memorial be presented to the Board of Supervision calling for the present qualification of the Managers to be reduced to the same as the landward parishes and the parish of St. Cuthberts' in Edinburgh. The present qualification which amounted to'£43.10s of actual rent' excluded large numbers of inhabitants from standing for office. Boyle calculated that the ratepayers were restricted in their choice of candidates to around one thousand persons. However, no action was taken on Boyle's proposals.[148] Nonetheless, it was evidence of the ongoing conflict between large and small property in the city.

With regard to the proceedings of the St. Cuthbert's Parochial Board an interesting action by small property took place in 1849. At a meeting in February a Mr. Meiklejohn,

seconded by a Mr. Cushnie, moved that a list of twenty-seven names, which he read out from a prepared list be approved to fill the vacancies in the management committee. However, it appeared that Meiklejohn's list was at varience with a list of nominations prepared by the ratepayers of the Parish. Only eight names from the list presented by the ratepayers appeared on Meiklejohn's, and was in clear breach of standard procedure. In addition it was said that the list presented by Meiklejohn contained only names of previous managers, many of whom were wealthy heritors in the parish. A Mr. Nicol moved that the meeting adjourn as a demonstration of opposition to the undemocratic proceedings being taken. As if prepared for such an eventuality a counter motion by Meiklejohn was carried by a large majority. Following this his list was carried despite further declamatory motions.[149] The following year conflict was once more in evidence. Again two lists of nominations were presented. A Mr. Paterson proposed a list of thirty names, who were men 'alive to the necessity of a reduction of the rates consistent with the comfort of the poor, and that they would keep economy and retrenchment in view if elected'. A Mr. Muirhead, bookseller, seconded the adoption. Mr. James Cormack, smith and ironmonger, proposed the second list of men who 'were persons of the highest respectability'; for which read wealthy. In the event Paterson's list was carried. It marked a victory for small property.[150]

The question of the democratic nature of the City Parochial Board was again raised in 1851. A Mr. Ridpath had the following motion accepted unanimously at a meeting of the board:

> That as it is expedient and improper that the qualification of members of the Parochial Board should be higher than that of the Town Council, a memorial be prepared and presented to the Board of Supervision requesting that the necessary steps be taken for extending the right of being elected a member of the City Parochial Board to all qualified Parliamentary electors £10.[151]

This position whereby the City Parochial Board reflected the interests of the wealthier sections of the community was in part responsible for the lack of interest shown in the elections. Small property was unwilling to take part in elections on the basis of having nominations restricted to those in positions of wealth and power. For example, in 1848 out of an electorate of some 13,000 persons who could have voted, 88 actually did. This was a mere 0.7 per cent of the potential poll. Had the process been more democratic, Mr. Taylor on the board of management concluded that the 'electors would take more interest in it than they had hitherto done'. The electorate was thus moved to take action only when the board of management threatened a substantial increase in the level of assessment. Thus in 1861 when decisions were being taken to build a new poorhouse at Morningside, a revolt by small property reared its head.[152] But with few exceptions these elections were quiet affairs, because small property had been effectively excluded from

taking office under the imposition of a property qualification. Neither was party politics a determining factor in the election process.[153]

With the majority of the petite bourgeoisie excluded from standing for office, the membership was confined to the upper limits of the class together with small capitalists and the professional elite. One occupational survey of the membership of the City Parochial Board produced the following table:

Table 7.6 Occupations of the City Parochial Board

Years	Merchants	Medical Profession	Legal Profession
1846-55	237	45	43
1856-66	214	34	47
1867-76	256	17	57
1877-86	261	-	44
1887-94	218	-	46

Source: Paterson, 69

Although the petite bourgeoisie were excluded, the question of economy was not allowed to be lost. The rate imposed by the Board reached an all time high of 2s 8d in the £ in 1849. However, over the century that figure was substantially reduced.[154] This was in part due to the pressure from small Property and its spokesmen. In 1845 there were said to be 68,541 paupers in Scotland and 26,894 persons relieved as casual poor. Their upkeep amounted to £303,329. By 1867 there was thought to be 164,404 paupers and 91,176 casual poor whose support cost some £807,361. This rising expenditure caused David Cursor of the Edinburgh Association for

Improving the Condition of the Poor to argue that 'ere long the difficulty may be to distinguish between the rate-payer and rate-recipient'.[155] Cursor also reflected the belief that poverty was the result of the individual. He argued that in about one third of the cases in Edinburgh poverty was the result of 'self-imposed pauperism.' The remedy for which was not the system of poor relief, which Cursor believed was self productive of poverty, but to put people to work. Only then would the problem begin to be resolved and the burden on the ratepayer consequently lessened.[156]

Whilst economy was a prime consideration in the politics of poor relief, so too was the need to prevent mendicity, and a happy medium was sought between the two. Both the established middle-class and the petite bourgeoisie hated to be reminded of the intense suffering of sections of humanity and accounted for their hostility to mendicity which they found socially embarrassing. Informing much of the policy debates was the belief that individuals were responsible for their own situation. In this respect to instil independence under the provision of work schemes was seen as the best solution for the long run interests of the poor and the financial solvency of the system. In 1850 James Blackadder, merchant, Town Councillor and manager of the City Parochial Board proposed at a meeting of the board that the provision of work schemes for the poor be investigated. This was bound to find favour with the petite

bourgeoisie as indicated by the fact that the seconder for the motion was Joseph Hood Stott, the radical.[157] Yet, not at the cost of increased expenditure. Indeed in 1853 a scheme of work introduced by the board was only carried by a majority of one; the opposition was based on a question of expense.[158] In the same year a scheme was agreed to teach female paupers the art of sewing on muslin. Though Stott considered domestic service to be a greater and better prospect for employment than fancy sewing.[159] Work schemes were intended to create a spirit of independence among the poor, and to ease the burden on the ratepayers. They were welcomed by the petite bourgeoisie, as long as they did not involve an outlay of finance that was inconsistent with economy.

The question of economy could also take a territorial form based on the geographical class division of the city. The separation of classes in Edinburgh ensured that certain parishes were overburdened by a concentration of poor, and a corresponding relative absence of wealthy ratepayers. In particular the parish of Canongate in the heart of the old town was so placed. It was primarily a centre of residence for the petite bourgeoisie and working class. In 1848 the Canongate assessment was 3s 8d in the £1.[160] Considerably more than either the City or St. Cuthbert's, and in these circumstances muted proposals were discussed to unite the parishes of St. Cuthbert's and the City with the Canongate, under one administrative body. But in 1846

the ratepayers of St. Cuthbert's at a meeting attended by over 600 unanimously agreed to reject plans for unification.[161] In 1855 and 1867 similar proposals were once more rejected.[162] However, by 1871 after long negotiations the Parishs of St. Cuthbert's and Canongate agreed to unite and were joined by the City Parish in 1894.[163] As a result the tax burden falling on small property in the Canongate was lessened.

The history of the poor relief agencies in the nineteenth century was in part the history of petit bourgeois attempts to control or influence the rating procedure of the agencies involved. In response to this pressure these agencies responded by pursuing economic retrenchment as far as was possible. Not only did this reflect the collective strength of small property in the city, but it was a measure of the control the petite bourgeoisie exercised over the life chances of the poorer working-class.

THE TOWN COUNCIL AND THE WORKING CLASS

The power possessed by the Town Council was an important factor in mediating and articulating struggle, between classes in society and between intermediate groups and the subordinate class. Political policy at the local level in Edinburgh was shaped by the politics of interest between rival elites, the politics of religion and as we have seen

in the importance of this study the politics of struggle between large property in the city and the petite bourgeoisie for control of the decision making process. But also at the local level there was a politics that was shaped by the existence of a majority working-class in Edinburgh, who for most of the century remained unrepresented in local politics. Nonetheless they possessed a latent power of social action that in part helped to shape the policy of the Edinburgh Town Council. The fear posed by the presence of the working-classes in Edinburgh was nevertheless tempered by the practical concern by men of small property for economy. Policy in Edinburgh was largely shaped by intransigence. Yet intransigence or inaction is just as important as the actual concrete decisions taken by policy makers. Nowhere was the policy of inaction greater expressed than in the comitment of the Town Council to the working-classes. Here the petit bourgeois watchward of economy in all things triumphed over what fears this group felt from an insurrectionary working-class. The examples of improvement and working-class housing are sufficient here to highlight the retrenchment in expenditure by a Council operating in the interests of small property.

Whereas a section of the petite bourgeoisie's hearts were led by the ideal of a petit bourgeois populist democracy which would incorporate the working-class. An even greater section allowed their heads to be ruled by their convinced necessity for economy. Yet as the holders of the purse

strings in Edinburgh the Town Council representing in part the interests of small property was destined to find itself in a conflict situation with the working-classes. This conflict, which was an expression of class struggle, between the holders of power and the dispossessed did not necessarily assume the character of open or violent hostility, instead it was expressed more subtly in the possession of power over the policy making process. For example in 1840 the cost of a dinner for the working-class poor of Edinburgh, on the Queen's Birthday, which had fed from 10,000-12,000 people pies and ale, raised a storm of controversy on the Town Council over who should foot the £190 bill. Eighteen council members voted for the Council to pay the bill and eleven voted against. Those in favour included a number of petit bourgeois radicals.[164] The decision was not allowed to drop and at the next meeting it was announced that Councillor Stewart, Writer to the Signet, and Dean of Guild Thomson had secured a court interdict against the sum being paid.[165] Eventually a compromise was reached with an agreement that the Council pay £100 and the rest be raised by public subscription.[166] This was not simply a question of the use of funds but a statement of policy that was essentially anti-working-class. Similarly in 1844 the Council opposed by twelve votes to ten a motion in favour of donating £25 to a fund for the erection of baths for the working-classes.[167] In 1855 and 1856 the Council refused requests by the working-classes to be allowed the use of the Corn Exchange for concerts despite the assurance that these would serve as an alternative to the public house.[168]

The Council also refused to act on the question of widespread working-class unemployment. In 1848 a petition from 1400 unemployed men was received by the Council, who whilst expressing their sympathy agreed that they were not in a position to help their plight, but suggested that a voluntary subscription might be raised.[169] Again economy triumphed over the fear of working-class reaction, a fear that was expressed in the petit bourgeois journal Taits Edinburgh Magazine, in arguing for the necessity to take action against poverty it stated:

'It did not require great penetration to discover the actual state of things among the poor of Edinburgh; though considerable moral courage was necessary to announce the unwelcome and unpleasant fact, the social evils of such magnitude and portent were existing and increasing and must be abated, unless our fellow creatures were to be left to perish before our eyes in lingering misery, and the social fabric eventually shaken to its basis.'[170]

A similar concern was present in the sanitary reform movement.[171] In 1868, Councillor David Lewis, moved a motion on the Town Council which expressed both concern for economy and the realisation of the social consequences that might befall society. Lewis moved:

'Whereas, Pauperism in this city, and throughout Scotland has increased to an alarming extent whereby the burdens upon the property and the industry of the country have been

greatly augmented and have become most oppressive, and whereas the continuance of such increase and augmentation cannot fail to produce most disastrous social results; the Council resolve to petition Her Majesty's Government to appoint a Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the causes of the increase of pauperism in Scotland." The Council agreed with the proviso that it would help aim to remove the causes and to reduce and equalise the charges upon the rate-paying community.[172]

Conflict between the working-classes and the Town Council was also evident in a decision of the Town Council in 1854 to refuse to open public parks on Saturday afternoons and Sundays a deputation from the trades of Edinburgh had found the support of Councillor Fraser, bookseller, who moved on the Council that the new Industrial Museum and the Botanical Gardens should be opened on a Sunday. Fraser's motion was deferred pending a committee report.[173] When next before the Council his proposals were lost thirteen votes to four. The opposition was mounted on the grounds of religious consideration for the Sabbath, but more specifically was the concern and fear of crowds congregating and creating "mischief".[174]

With the extension of the franchise in 1867 and 1884, the Town Council had to become more responsive to the newcomers to the electoral system. Indeed in some districts of Edinburgh they had to be courted. Increased amenities for

the working-class was a fairly distinct possibility. In 1877 for example, and despite opposition based on retrenchment, the Council agreed to spend £300 on a bowling green for working men to be sited in the West Meadows.[175] Moreover, the Council began to make provision for working-class housing from the last decade of the century where previously they had opposed such intervention in the market place.[176] In 1895 the Lord Provost's Committee resolved to recommend the erection of two tenements of five and four storeys at the West Port. The blocks were to consist of one and two roomed flats and would cost in the region of £5,150. A further development at the High School Yards was to cost £10,500.[177] Whatever the merits of such plans economy and the minimum of standards were still apparent.

With the extension of the franchise small property on the Council must have felt threatened over their ability to retain their share of power. Though the petite bourgeoisie had once espoused democracy, it was still to be a democracy with small property at the helm. As early as 1869 the Trades Council in Edinburgh formed a Municipal Committee from which to launch working-class candidates. In that year, and the following, seats were contested. In 1869 John McWhinnie polled 269 votes in the Canongate ward against a moderate and Independant Liberal who was characterised as "enemies of the workingman". In 1870 William Paterson, Secretary of the joiners union, - later a factory Inspector and Firemaster of Glasgow, - was narrowly defeated in the

same ward by 827 votes to 923 by Councillor Younger of the Brewing interest, despite having the backing of the Independent Liberals in that ward. Another candidate that year J. H. Waterson polled almost half the votes cast in St. Cuthbert's Ward.[178]

From hindsight the attack on the local representation system was somewhat premature. By 1888 candidates to the Council were emphasising where applicable their working-class roots. Thus Mr. Hogg a candidate in St. George's Ward was described as "a working gentleman who had raised himself to the position he now occupied by industry and perseverance, and therefore he would be able to combine the working-man with the man of business." To emphasise the point Hogg declared himself in favour of evening meetings of the Council which would allow working-class representatives to participate on the Council.[179] Similarly in 1889 Andrew Telfer, an ex-joiner then dairy owner, won St. Cuthbert's Ward by 1,612 votes to 1,448.[180] There were those who questioned the ability of such candidates to represent the interests of the ratepayers.[181] More authentic working-class candidates stood in 1889. In the Canongate Ward the Independent Liberal Committee unable to provide a candidate to oppose Councillor Younger agreed to pass on the candidature to the newly formed Labour Representation Association. Neil McLean, the Tailors' Secretary, was chosen to stand but was defeated. According to the Scotsman McLean was 'repudiated by workingmen' because as a director of St. Cuthbert's

Co-operative he was in dispute with bakers in their employment.[182] In 1891 John Cubie, a workingman, though possibly a Liberal Unionist and ex-secretary of the Trades Council won a seat in the Canongate Ward. In the following year Waterson, Telfer and Cubie were recognised by the Trades Council as labour representatives.[183]

By 1893 candidates had assumed an openly "socialist" platform. David Blackburn, President of the Trades Council, gained 516 votes in the Canongate Ward, and Fred Hamilton of the Independent Labour Party secured 208 votes in the George Square Ward. John Mallinson was returned unopposed in St. George's Ward, whilst James Connolly, later to make his name in the Irish Socialist-Republican movement, stood as an Independent Socialist candidate in St. Giles' Ward. The I.L.P. again had a candidate William Gall in 1895 who managed to poll a third of the votes cast in his ward. Thomas Blackie, described by the Scotsman, as "of a class which no respectable workingman cared to support" stood on a socialist ticket and polled 572 votes as against 862. The social Democratic Federation put up George Doull who polled 636 against Councillor Cubie Doull again stood in 1898 though was again unsuccessful. In 1899 a Workers' Municipal Committee was formed in order to sponsor candidates in local and national elections.[184]

Though by no means successful the working-class had begun to make their presence felt through the independent stance

taken by these candidates. In part it helped create a challenge to the power structure of the Town Council and saw greater attention paid to working-class issues. The working-class found a champion in Harry Smith, Advocate. Smith consistently moved motions in favour of a reduction of the working day to eight hours for all workers employed by the Council. In addition he argued that Corporation contracts for clothing in particular be examined against the possibility of them being carried out by sweated labour. Though opposing the motion to reduce the working day, the Council were in favour of safeguarding the contracts from completion by sweated labour.[185] By 1895, however, Smith succeeded in obtaining a fifty four hour week.[186] Despite these consessions, the Council was still largely representative of the views of small property a section of which vehemently opposed independent 'socialist' action by the working-class. In 1897 it agreed to take no action on a letter from the secretary of the Social Democratic Federation in Edinburgh calling for a 48 hour week.[187] Again in 1897 the Council approved a recommendation declining to give a donation to the Edinburgh and District United Trades and Labour Council's Unemployed Fund. In 1898 Councillors refused to furnish the Socialist Political Committee - a joint body of the S.D.F. and I.L.P. - with copies of the minutes of the meetings of the Town Council.[188] In this way they demonstrated opposition to the independent working-class organisations.

Despite this activity independent working-class action failed to make any substantial impact on the composition or direction of the Town Council in the period under review. The Town Council in Edinburgh possessed real power over the life chances and socio-economic well-being of the working-class. Policy was dictated largely by a view of economic retrenchment that was concomitant with inaction. Such a view reflected the interest of small property. The representation of the petite bourgeoisie on the Town Council ensured that little was done to ameliorate the position of the social conditions of the working-class in the city. What action was taken was piecemeal designed to legitimise the council in the eyes of the working-class electorate. In this respect the petite bourgeoisie's power over the working-class in Edinburgh was considerable.

This chapter has been less a history of politics at the local level than one of concentrating on aspects of the role of the petite bourgeoisie. What is important is the extent to which the petite bourgeoisie were a force in the political structure of nineteenth century Edinburgh. Possessing power that was inconsistent with their wealth and position in the social structure of the city. Yet it reflected their numerical strength and importance in the economy. It was here that petit bourgeois power came to some fruition. However, that power became encapulated in the politics of ratepayerism. The guide to understanding the action of the petite bourgeoisie was this view of

the necessity for economy. As long as economy was seen to be practised petit bourgeois interests seemed satisfied and no attempt was made at any form of radical restructing of the society.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIETY: STRATIFICATION AND VALUES

As illustrated in earlier chapters the petite bourgeoisie retained a pervasive presence in the economy of nineteenth century Edinburgh. The absence of an industrial bourgeoisie in any preponderant numbers gave greater importance to the small masters in the industrial and commercial structure of the city. An importance that was reflected in their involvement in local government. Edinburgh unusually, was dominated by an established middle-class whose wealth and power derived from non-industrial services, and where within that class the professions were all important. As a result the focus of class relationships, and conflict, partly shifted to social and political structures. Contact between this class and the petite bourgeoisie was more likely to occur at a societal rather than a business level. Again the absence of an industrial ruling-class meant that the petite bourgeoisie in much of industry were the employing class. Class relations in nineteenth century Edinburgh were thus manifoldly complex, with the petite bourgeoisie occupying a central role, coming between the bourgeoisie and labour.

How then did such a role determine the social relationships between the petite bourgeoisie and other classes and strata? Further is it possible to reconstruct the petite bourgeoisie as a homogeneous class based on their social relationships and values? Any attempts to understand the behaviour values and social relationships of the petite bourgeoisie must inevitably take into account the peculiar position the class occupied in the structure of nineteenth century society. The permanent instability and fluidity of membership was an important characteristic of the class; not shared by other classes.[1] All this draws into the importance of the community, and, at another level, the family, in shaping the avenues of mobility which in turn shaped the petite bourgeoisie.

In this chapter the structure of social relationships between classes and strata is examined against the process of stratification. Such an examination locates the petite bourgeoisie in a central role and examines the class and its relationship to other classes and groups in the wider society. Key areas of investigation are undertaken and form separate sections of the chapter. They include wealth holding; social mobility; social distancing through marriage; the paraphernalia of respectability; and the role of the petite bourgeoisie in voluntary organisation. Running throughout is an appreciation of the values and ideology that gave shape to the class.

WEALTH

In terms of wealth how did the petite bourgeoisie relate to other groups in nineteenth century Edinburgh? Wealth, along with factors such as income and status, was a major consideration for the way society was stratified not only between classes and groups but within them. Moreover, an individual's wealth might act as a passport to positions of power, social prestige as well as bestowing respectability; but not exclusively so. Yet there is no totally reliable source by which to gauge the wealth, or income, of individuals in the nineteenth century.[2] However, probate records are a useful guide but only so in the absence of more detailed biographical and business records. Table 8.1 records the distribution of capital, other than heritable property, left at death for inhabitants of Edinburgh during the periods 1849-55 and 1889-92. The distribution figures indicate the comparisons with the delineated socio-economic groups as well as within the groups. From the data it would appear that 54.2 per cent of retailers, 45.6 per cent of craftsmen-retailers, and 47.0 per cent of master craftsmen left sums of less than £500 at mid-century. This compares with only 23.1 per cent of the professional group. By the 1890 period 52.7 per cent of retailers were still leaving under £500. Amongst the craftsmen-retailers it was 55.3 per cent, and the craftsmen 63.6 per cent. In stark contrast among the professions only 10.5 per cent left under £500 towards the end of the century.

TABLE 8.1

DISTRIBUTION OF CAPITAL AT DEATH 1849-55, 1889-92

	1-49	50-99	100-199	200-299	300-499	500-749	750-999	1,000-1,499	1,500-1,999	2,000-2,999	3,000-3,999	4,000-4,999	5,000-7,499	7,500-9,999	10,000-14,999	15,000-19,999	20,000-29,999	30,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000 +	No.
PROFESSIONAL	0.7	3.6	6.5	4.3	8.0	6.5	8.0	9.4	5.8	10.1	9.4	3.6	3.6	6.5	3.6	2.2	3.6	4.3	-	-	138
MANUFACTURER	-	7.7	15.4	11.5	15.4	7.7	7.7	-	-	11.5	3.8	7.7	-	3.8	3.8	-	-	3.8	-	-	26
MERCHANT	1.9	5.7	9.4	3.8	7.5	3.8	7.5	5.7	11.3	13.2	7.5	1.9	7.5	-	3.8	3.8	1.9	1.9	-	1.9	53
WHITECOLLAR I	1.5	4.5	10.6	10.6	3.0	16.7	12.1	6.1	4.5	7.6	4.5	4.5	4.5	1.5	-	4.5	1.5	1.5	-	-	66
WHITECOLLAR II	7.1	4.8	25.0	10.7	11.9	6.0	7.1	8.3	7.1	4.8	2.4	1.2	2.4	-	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	84
MERCHANT-RETAILER	2.0	10.2	16.3	12.2	6.1	16.3	6.1	4.1	6.1	4.1	2.0	2.0	-	4.1	-	6.1	2.0	-	-	-	49
RETAILER	5.1	11.9	12.7	8.5	16.1	8.5	11.9	7.6	3.4	3.4	0.8	3.4	2.5	1.7	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	118
CRAFTSMEN-RETAILER	3.9	5.5	13.4	9.4	13.4	14.2	7.9	12.6	6.3	3.1	4.7	0.8	0.8	3.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	127
CRAFTSMEN	3.0	7.5	20.1	8.2	8.2	13.4	6.7	9.7	4.5	6.7	2.2	1.5	3.0	0.7	3.0	0.7	0.7	-	-	-	134
SEMI-SKILLED	9.1	-	9.1	9.1	45.5	-	9.1	18.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
TRANSPORT	20.0	-	40.0	-	-	20.0	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
AGRICULTURE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Source: Edinburgh Commissariat I
Index of Inventories 1849-1855, S.R.O.

Calender of Conformations
and Inventories 1889-1892 Vol. 14-21, S.R.O.

TABLE 8.1 Continued

DISTRIBUTION OF CAPITAL AT DEATH 1889-92

	1-49	50-99	100-199	200-299	300-499	500-749	750-999	1,000-1,499	1,500-1,999	2,000-2,999	3,000-3,999	4,000-4,999	5,000-7,499	7,500-9,999	10,000-14,999	15,000-19,999	20,000-29,999	30,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000 +	
PROFESSIONAL	-	-	3.7	2.9	3.7	2.9	5.9	5.1	7.4	5.9	3.7	5.9	8.1	6.6	5.1	7.4	12.2	6.6	6.6	0.2	1
MANUFACTURER	-	-	4.5	-	18.2	-	4.5	13.6	-	4.5	4.5	-	9.1	4.5	13.6	-	13.6	-	4.5	4.5	
MERCHANT	-	2.0	9.8	9.8	11.8	2.0	5.9	2.0	7.8	5.9	5.9	2.0	7.8	11.8	5.9	-	7.8	-	2.0	-	
WHITECOLLAR I	-	5.5	3.6	12.7	12.7	9.1	1.8	16.4	3.6	1.8	9.1	3.6	-	10.9	3.6	-	3.6	1.8	-	-	
WHITECOLLAR II	4.2	5.2	26.0	10.4	22.9	10.4	7.3	5.2	2.1	1.0	1.0	-	2.1	1.0	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	
MERCHANT-RETAILER	3.0	2.0	3.0	5.0	12.9	8.9	7.9	12.9	6.9	7.9	5.9	5.0	5.9	2.0	3.0	-	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	1
RETAILER	2.3	6.8	12.8	15.8	15.0	8.3	7.5	7.5	4.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.5	3.0	0.8	1.5	-	-	0.8	-	1
CRAFTSMEN-RETAILER	4.9	5.8	19.4	12.6	12.6	7.8	10.7	6.8	5.8	4.9	2.9	1.0	3.9	-	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	1
CRAFTSMEN	2.9	6.4	22.9	14.3	17.1	5.7	4.3	8.6	5.0	2.9	1.4	2.1	2.9	0.6	-	1.4	1.4	-	-	-	1
SEMI-SKILLED	-	16.7	66.7	-	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TRANSPORT	-	-	20.0	-	-	-	-	20.0	-	40.0	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Source: Calender of Conformations and Inventories 1889-92 Vol. 14-21, S.R.O.

TABLE 8.1 Continued

DISTRIBUTION OF CAPITAL AT DEATH 1889-92

	1-49	50-99	100-199	200-299	300-499	500-749	750-999	1,000-1,499	1,500-1,999	2,000-2,999	3,000-3,999	4,000-4,999	5,000-7,499	7,500-9,999	10,000-14,999	15,000-19,999	20,000-29,999	30,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000 +	No
PROFESSIONAL	-	-	3.7	2.9	3.7	2.9	5.9	5.1	7.4	5.9	3.7	5.9	8.1	6.6	5.1	7.4	12.2	6.6	6.6	0.2	136
MANUFACTURER	-	-	4.5	-	18.2	-	4.5	13.6	-	4.5	4.5	-	9.1	4.5	13.6	-	13.6	-	4.5	4.5	22
MERCHANT	-	2.0	9.8	9.8	11.8	2.0	5.9	2.0	7.8	5.9	5.9	2.0	7.8	11.8	5.9	-	7.8	-	2.0	-	51
WHITECOLLAR I	-	5.5	3.6	12.7	12.7	9.1	1.8	16.4	3.6	1.8	9.1	3.6	-	10.9	3.6	-	3.6	1.8	-	-	55
WHITECOLLAR II	4.2	5.2	26.0	10.4	22.9	10.4	7.3	5.2	2.1	1.0	1.0	-	2.1	1.0	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	96
MERCHANT-RETAILER	3.0	2.0	3.0	5.0	12.9	8.9	7.9	12.9	6.9	7.9	5.9	5.0	5.9	2.0	3.0	-	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	101
RETAILER	2.3	6.8	12.8	15.8	15.0	8.3	7.5	7.5	4.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.5	3.0	0.8	1.5	-	-	0.8	-	133
CRAFTSMEN-RETAILER	4.9	5.8	19.4	12.6	12.6	7.8	10.7	6.8	5.8	4.9	2.9	1.0	3.9	-	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	103
CRAFTSMEN	2.9	6.4	22.9	14.3	17.1	5.7	4.3	8.6	5.0	2.9	1.4	2.1	2.9	0.6	-	1.4	1.4	-	-	-	140
SEMI-SKILLED	-	16.7	66.7	-	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
TRANSPORT	-	-	20.0	-	-	-	-	20.0	-	40.0	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5

Source: Calender of Conformations and Inventories 1889-92 Vol. 14-21, S.R.O.

Measured against the professions, who were among the wealthiest of Edinburgh's citizens, the petite bourgeoisie could not compete in the process of wealth accumulation. Indeed the petite bourgeoisie faired only marginally better than the white-collar 2 group, who in the period 1850 returned a figure of 59.5 per cent leaving under £500. For the later period it was 68.7 per cent. Hence the social prestige and material comforts of the small masters were closely paralleled in the white-collar occupations.

The median income at death of each of the socio-economic groups is indicated in table 8.2. From this it is clear that by far the most important group in terms of wealth accumulation and their number in the community was the professions. They were followed closely by manufacturers and merchants with the whitecollar 1 group coming between them and the petite bourgeoisie. The contrast between the retailers and the professions serves to indicate the difference in ability of these two groups to accumulate wealth. In the period 1849-55 a member of the professions was likely to leave five times as much as a shopkeeper, and in the subsequent period ten times as much. Over the period 1849 to 1892 then, it can be seen that those groups who made up the petite bourgeoisie, with the exception of the merchant retailers, did not show a marked increase in their ability to amass wealth. Indeed, as far as the craftsmen retailers and craftsmen were concerned there was a marked decline. It was the latter two groups in late

nineteenth century Edinburgh who, perhaps more than most, bore the brunt of industrialisation and, in particular, competition.

TABLE 8.2

Median Capital Left at Death;
Ranked by Order 1849-55, 1889-92

Occupation	1849-55		1889-92		+/-
Professions	£1,758	(1)	£3,675	(2)	+£1,917
Manufacturers	£740	(4)	£4,043	(1)	+£3,303
Merchants	£1,707	(2)	£1,928	(3)	+ £221
Whitecollar (1)	£813	(3)	£1,139	(6)	+ £326
Whitecollar (2)	£319	(10)	£317	(10)	- £2
Merchant Retailers	£548	(7)	£1,282	(5)	+ £734
Retailers	£372	(8)	£381	(7)	+ £9
Craftsmen Retailers	£576	(5)	£357	(8)	- £219
Craftsmen	£556	(6)	£321	(9)	- £235
Semi-Skilled	£349	(9)	£149	(11)	- £200
Transport	£124	(11)	£1,874	(4)	+£1,750

Source: As for Table 1

From the evidence of wealth at death the professions were among the wealthiest groups followed by manufacturers and merchants. The petite bourgeoisie in contrast were the 'poor cousins'. How far this stratification in terms of wealth was mirrored in social relationships at the local institutional, community and family level, and how far such stratification acted to chose the socio economic groups from social interaction forms the basis of discussion below.

SOCIAL MOBILITY
GETTING STARTED

A test of the fluidity of the social structure and its obvious bearing on social relationships is the openness

of society in terms of social mobility. There were various routes by which mobility might be accomplished. The most obvious as far as the petite bourgeoisie are concerned was the starting up, or expansion of a business. Social mobility might also be looked for in the parental aspirations for sons, and sometimes daughters, gaining occupations that were accorded greater status by society. Moreover, social mobility might be looked for through the securement of advantageous marriages for children. It is possible then to focus on the areas of starting in business, inter-generational mobility, and mobility through marriage, and to examine the fortunes and social relationships both within the petite bourgeoisie and their relationships with other groups and classes in nineteenth century Edinburgh.

But before undertaking this, it might be as well to remember that for the petite bourgeoisie social mobility might take forms beyond an occupational linear progression determined by some pre-ordered hierarchy of occupations. For the mere change of occupational status might not necessarily imply a whole change in the social milieu of the small master. No doubt many small masters from once proletarian status retained their links and lifestyle within the working-class communities.[3] Moreover, the instability of the class in terms of its cohesive permanence should lead us to question the extent of the mobility achieved. For many the attempt to secure permanent entry into the small master class was one way of escaping the

vagaries of working-class employment; or the lack of it. Built on a lot of hope, the result more often than not ended in despair.[4] Mobility was sometimes to be measured more by the belief in independence, however shallow, than by material advance or change in lifestyle.

Starting in business was nonetheless a step which differentiated the small master, however shaky the long term future, from the working-classes. Getting started in terms of the capital required, though credit was often easy to get, was a necessary problem.

But once started in business the individual might claim, and was accorded, a superior status and respectability particularly from those below the individual in the social scale.[5] Recruitment to the class was in part the result of both downward and upward mobility from other groups. Some who were downwardly mobile saw in a small business a break on falling any further. Others from the working-classes who were upwardly mobile saw such a step as one way of ending the capriciousness of working-class life in the nineteenth century. The maintenance of the stratum was also the result of a process of recruitment from amongst the petite bourgeoisie themselves, and here the family was of prime importance.

The basis of the perpetuation and conservation of small property was the network of family relations. Both Medik[6] and Crozier[7] have emphasized the role of the petit bourgeois

and middle-class family as an institution for the conservation of property. Autobiographical material taken from the evidence of bankrupts goes some way to substantiate their claims. However, what must not be forgotten is that the ability of the petit bourgeois family to maintain and reproduce itself was often a constant struggle, and increasingly so for some sectors as the century neared its end, and economic pressure mounted.

Evidence from the bankruptcy proceedings should not be considered in this instance as a negative source, instancing only those personal histories that were doomed to end in financial failure. For the petite bourgeoisie walked the narrowest of tightropes between success and failure in business life. Moreover, as small masters most shared, a common introduction to business life. What is at once evident is the extent to which the family, both the immediate and extended, was a major, if not the major, source of raising capital. Thus in 1856 John Archibald Campbell commenced business in Edinburgh as a Sadler with a borrowed capital of £100 lent by Robert Hedger, his father-in-law, a coachman at Colinton. Hedger was to lend a further £150 in the course of the business.[8] James Knox commenced business in 1857 as a Grocer in Princes Street, Edinburgh. Knox had previously been a shopman in the city, and was to borrow £60 from his father Archibald Knox, a cooper of Burntisland, Fife.[9] In like

manner James Pringle began trading as a Provision Merchant in 1851, in Baker Street, Edinburgh. He borrowed £25 from his brother, Alexander Pringle, and £10 from his cousin, James Moffat.[10] Daniel Moffat owed his start in business life to £150 lent by his father which enabled him to set up as a Corn Merchant in 1857.[11] In 1848 John Campbell started business as a Grocer and Spirit Dealer with £80 of his own money, and borrowed £50 from one brother-in-law and £15 from another. In addition he was to borrow £80 from his wife and £10 from her sister.[12]

The family network therefore was an important source of financing the business ventures of small masters. An examination of the bankruptcy evidence suggests that it was the most common way of raising the generally small amounts of capital needed to set up in business. In this way the family can be seen as an agency for the conservation of small property. This was particularly evident in the case of Robert Darling Ker. He began business in Edinburgh in 1846 in a partnership with his father, Thomas Ker, as Corn Merchants. The business capital was contributed solely by Thomas Ker. In 1847 Robert received from his father a gift of twenty-five shares in the Edinburgh and Glasgow Bank. In 1848 Robert married, as a dowry his wife brought a little property. In lieu of this, Thomas Ker was to settle on his son under a marriage contract two houses in St. Patrick Square and four houses in Cowans' Close. In this way property was divided but remained

within the family. Robert was to further invest some £2,000 in small properties before his bankruptcy.[13]

The conservation of property within the family unit was one way of preserving for the future well being, status, and respectability of the family within the community. Status, however, was closely linked to the belief in living within ones means. Heiton in The Castes of Edinburgh recounts a conversation around the topic of property inheritance and the moral of living beyond ones means:

> At a select party in Edinburgh of "bien bodies" there were an ancient couple present who had made a competency in a small shop in town, and retired from business, leaving their only son a successor to the shop, with a stock free from every encumbance. But John, after a few years, had failed in the world, and his misfortunes became the theme of discourse: Mrs. A —— "Dear me, Mrs. H. I wonder your Johnnie did sae ill in the same shop you did sae well in." Mrs. H. —— "Hoot, woman, it's nae wonder at a." Mrs. A. —— "Weel how did it happen?" Mrs. H. —— "I'll tell ye how it happened. Ye maun ken, when Tam and me began to merchandise, we took parritch night and morning, and kail to our dinner. When things grew better we took tea to our breakfast, and well woman, the age mended, and we sometimes coft a lamb-leg for a Sunday Dinner, and before we gae up, we sometimes coft a chuckie, we were doing sae well. Now ye maun ken, when Johnnie began to merchandise, he began wi' the chuckie (fowl) first. [14]

The story from Heiton reflected the uneasy economic position of the small masters and illustrated the on going need for caution against undue extravagance. The family network helped to minimise the risk of failure, by keeping

property and finance within the kinship bonds. Yet the whole basis of status and the reification of it was based on income inequality, and to live beyond one's income in the pursuance of status through the outward display of wealth had its pitfalls particularly for the petite bourgeoisie.

Outside of the family there were other agencies involved in the reproduction of the petite bourgeoisie as a class. Other channels of finance were available with which to set up in business. Personal savings was one area, James Martin, for example, started business as a Stationer in Edinburgh in 1853 with his savings of £100.[15] Similarly in 1847 Jessie Larnock commenced as a Spirit Dealer with a capital of only £11.[16] Money might also be borrowed from persons other than members of the family. Samuel McInnes started business in May 1854 as a Grocer with a borrowed capital of £300.[17] In like manner Thomas Duncan, previously a Brewer, with the firm of Charles Dick, set up as a Distiller with a borrowed capital of £333.[18] Others looked to the banks for financial assistance. This was certainly the case with George Forbes, who set up business in Edinburgh as a Wine Merchant after moving from Aberdeen where he had been a partner in a meat preserving business. Forbes bought the stock in trade of Neil McLaren for £2,000 and was able to borrow a further £3,000 from the bank.[19] Still others could enter trade on the basis of credit dispensed by Wholesale Suppliers. George Henderson Denham

began business as a dealer in seed in 1857 without capital and on the strength of his supplier's credit. Later he was able to add a small hotel to his business ventures after securing a cash credit of £500 from the British Linen Company.[20] There were small masters who had set up in business with little more than their skill and the tools of their trade. Thus Thomas Ness started up his Blacksmiths business in 1825 without any capital.[21] Again John Robb started a painting business in 1845 without any capital.[22]

Once started in business on a secure footing the individual was accorded a new social status by society. Moreover, there were those who were anxious to reinforce this new found status, and who adopted new consumption patterns particularly in dress, household goods and housing. Roots and origins might quickly be forgotten. On the other hand starting in business did not necessarily imply a change in life-style or removal from cultural roots and background. Neither is this contrast easy to understand, but it may lie in the context of family ties and neighbourhood bonds which lies beyond the scope of discussion here.

Social mobility was often sought in the parental aspirations for the future of children. Inter-generational mobility was in one way a test of the openness of Victorian society. Yet how far was that society indeed open? and how far was it the case that the petite bourgeoisie actually

wanted, or were able, to secure greater mobility for sons and daughters? Was there a contradiction in the need to conserve property and business within the petit bourgeois family and the wishes of parents to have their sons enter the professions which promised greater wealth, status and security. These are but some of the issues that confront discussion and investigation of petit bourgeois social mobility. Again the point must be remembered that most work on social mobility has the assumption of a pre-determined grading of occupations. This is important, but how far an abstraction such as this can be applied to the motivation of the Victorian small masters, or other groups for that matter, is questionable. Might it be that Social Mobility was seen more in terms of business success, giving security to the family as opposed to the individual, and allowing the exercise of that much prized independence of thought and action.

However, conversely there is the fact of the instability of the stratum. In this respect the stability of some employment opportunities must have been attractive in the face of the continuing struggle to eke out an existence. For mobility for the petite bourgeoisie was just as likely to be downward than upward, and as a result the chance to gain secure employment in the professional and higher clerical grades might be welcome. Yet was stratification as rigidly structured in Victorian Edinburgh so as to perpetuate inequality between strata? Did the petite

bourgeoisie take advantage of those areas of employment that commanded greater status and respectability than those of the 'parcel tying' class? The evidence from inter-generational mobility may provide the answers.

INTER-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY

Data on inter-generational mobility between father and sons was collected from two sources; firstly, from the schedule books of the 1851 census, and, secondly, from information contained in the marriage registers.[23] Information from the 1851 census was collected on the small master community in Edinburgh. It was possible to compare the occupations of the small master heads of households with those of their sons. This data is presented in Table 8.3. The table does not of course account for those sons who might have left the family household. S1, S2, and S3 in the table corresponds to first eldest, second eldest and third eldest. Again, in the table it is the rows rather than the columns that are important. From the table it is clear that there was a fairly important link between the eldest sons following similar type occupations to their fathers. Of the petit bourgeois fathers engaged in retailing the greater proportion of their eldest sons, some 41.6 per cent, were also engaged in some aspect of the retail trade. Of those fathers who were small master craftsmen 73.2 per cent had elder sons following craft

TABLE: 8.3 INTERGENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE: 1851

PERCENTAGE WHOSE SON(S) WERE:

FATHER	TOTAL CASES			PROFESSIONS			MANUFACTURERS			MERCHANTS			WHITE COLLAR (1)			WHITE COLLAR (2)		
	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3
MANUFACTURER	21	11	2	-	9.1	50.0	28.6	18.2	-	-	-	-	4.8	-	-	28.6	18.2	-
MERCHANT	22	8	2	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	59.1	25.0	-	-	-	-	9.1	25.0	-
MERCHANT RETAILER	288	27	7	-	3.7	-	-	-	-	-	3.7	-	1.1	-	-	26.1	25.9	28.6
RETAILER	226	80	18	2.2	2.5	-	-	-	-	0.4	-	-	1.8	-	-	13.7	17.5	16.7
DEALER	24	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.2	-	-	12.5	-	-
PRODUCER RETAILER	275	92	17	1.4	1.1	-	-	-	-	0.7	2.2	-	1.1	2.2	-	7.6	9.8	11.8
CRAFTSMEN	224	97	25	-	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.2	3.1	4.0	5.8	12.4	8.0
SEMI-SKILLED	24	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.3	-	-
TRANSPORT	14	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.1	-	-	28.6	16.7	-
AGRICULTURE	8	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.0	-	-

Source: 1851 census enumerator books.

TABLE 8.3 Continued

FATHER	MERCHANT RETAILER			RETAILING			DEALING			PRODUCER RETAILING			CRAFTSMEN			SEMI-SKILLED		
	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3
MANUFACTURER	-	-	-	14.3	27.3	50.0	-	-	-	9.5	9.1	-	4.8	9.1	-	9.5	9.1	-
MERCHANT	-	-	-	18.2	25.0	-	-	-	-	4.5	-	-	4.5	25.0	50.0	4.5	-	-
MERCHANT RETAILER	29.5	18.5	42.8	13.6	11.1	14.3	-	-	-	6.8	7.4	14.3	19.3	22.2	-	-	-	-
RETAILER	1.3	3.7	-	41.6	26.2	33.3	-	-	-	10.6	18.7	16.7	22.6	21.2	16.7	1.3	1.2	-
DEALER	-	-	-	12.5	25.0	-	33.3	25.0	-	20.8	-	-	16.7	25.0	-	-	-	-
PRODUCER RETAILER	1.1	1.1	-	7.3	13.0	23.5	-	1.1	-	65.1	54.3	41.2	14.9	10.9	17.6	0.7	3.3	-
CRAFTSMAN	-	-	-	10.3	6.2	4.0	0.4	1.0	-	5.8	8.2	28.0	73.2	63.9	56.0	-	1.0	-
SEMI-SKILLED	8.3	-	-	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	8.3	-	-	25.0	25.0	-	37.5	75.0	100.0
TRANSPORT	-	-	-	-	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	16.7	-	21.4	-	-	-	-	-
AGRICULTURE	-	-	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.5	-	50.0	-	-	-

8.3 Continued

FATHER	TRANSPORT			AGRICULTURE			UNSKILLED			POLICE, ARMY, NAVY			DOMESTIC SERVICE			MISCELLANEOUS		
	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3
MANUFACTURER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MERCHANT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MERCHANT RETAILER	1.1	3.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.3	3.7	-
RETAILER	1.8	-	-	0.4	2.5	5.5	-	3.7	-	0.4	-	-	-	2.5	11.1	-	-	-
DEALER	-	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PRODUCER RETAILER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.7	1.1	5.9
CRAFTSMEN	0.9	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.4	-	-	0.9	2.1	-
SEMI-SKILLED	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.2	-	-
TRANSPORT	35.7	16.7	-	-	-	-	7.1	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0
AGRICULTURE	-	-	-	50.0	66.7	-	12.5	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

employment. The figure for the producer retailers was 65.1 per cent. Turning to the employment of the second eldest sons to those of their fathers, the following emerges. In the case of fathers engaged in the retail trade 26.2 per cent followed similar lines of employment. There was a greater tendency here for the sons to become craftsmen and work in the producer retailing trades. Of those fathers who were master craftsmen 63.9 per cent had second eldest sons following craft employment. In the case of producer retailers 54.3 per cent of the fathers had second eldest sons following similar employment. Very few in the sample had three sons of working age in the household, but the reader can determine the figures from the table if so desired. In stark contrast is the low level percentage scores of sons from petit bourgeois backgrounds forming a recruitment base to the professional and higher clerical occupations. The "lad o' pairts" was not as evident as Scottish assumptions on the democracy and openness of the society suppose. The evidence here points to high levels of employment homogeneity built around the skilled trades and retail employments. Only the avenue of the lower white-collar employments offered a demonstrable alternative employment in the period 1851.

On the basis of this information occupational mobility was largely restricted. White-collar opportunities were confined to those at the lower clerical end of the labour market. But if upward occupational mobility was fairly infrequent neither was it the case that the sons of the petite bourgeoisie were to be found in the less skilled jobs of labourers etc. The son of a petit bourgeois was likely to find more stable and remunerative employment than the mass of the working-classes.

To examine the change over time factor evidence was also collated from marriage registers for Edinburgh in the years 1855, 1870 and 1890. This evidence has certain advantages over the census material; given that it is not restricted to household. In addition it allows the use of 'inflow' and 'outflow' to compare data. In short it permits contrast between the occupational status of grooms in relation to their fathers, and similarly the status of fathers and the occupational status of their sons at the time of marriage. Tables 8.4, 8.5 and 8.6, examine grooms who were small masters at the time of marriage and compares their occupational status with that of their fathers in 1855, 1870 and 1890.[24] This evidence allows some understanding of the backgrounds of the petite bourgeoisie and the extent of social mobility in Victorian Edinburgh. Table 8.4 presents the evidence for 1855, and a number of points emerge. Firstly, there appears to be a strong correlation between grooms having fathers who were also small masters;

TABLE 8.4 INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE, 1855

PERCENTAGE WHOSE FATHERS WERE:

GROOM	PROFESSIONS	MANUFACTURERS	MERCHANTS	WHITECOLLAR 1	WHITECOLLAR 2	MERCHANT RETAILER	RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN	SEMI-SKILLED TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	RETAIL ASSISTANT	CRAFTSMAN RETAIL	TRANSPORT	SEMI-SKILLED	CRAFTSMAN	AGRICULTURE	UNSKILLED	POLICE, ARMY, NAVY	DOMESTIC SERVICE	MISCELLANEOUS	NO OCCUPATION
MERCHANT RETAILER	-	-	-	-	5.0	20.0	-	-	-	-	25.0	-	15.0	15.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	-	5.0	-	-	-
RETAILER	-	3.8	11.5	-	-	-	19.2	-	3.8	-	15.4	3.8	-	19.2	-	-	3.8	11.5	-	3.8	-	3.8
CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	4.5	-	-	-	-	4.5	-	4.5	-	-	18.2	-	22.7	22.7	4.5	-	-	13.6	-	4.5	-	-
CRAFTSMEN	-	-	9.1	4.5	4.5	9.1	-	4.5	36.4	-	-	-	13.6	13.6	-	-	-	-	-	4.5	-	
SEMI-SKILLED	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0	-	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TRANSPORT	-	-	-	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	-
AGRICULTURE	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.0	-	10.0	-	60.0	10.0	-	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: for tables 8.4 to 8.15 see Appendix II.

and often operating in the same broad areas of business. For example amongst grooms who were retailers 19.2 per cent had fathers in retail business. Again of grooms who were Master Craftsmen 36.4 per cent had fathers with a small Master Craft background. An interesting feature of the evidence is the number of grooms whose origins lay in the rural petite bourgeoisie of farmers. Profits made on the land may have been used to finance the business activities of sons in the city. Significant, then, is the extent to which grooms from the petite bourgeoisie had fathers from the same class. In part this would support other evidence in this chapter on the reproduction of the petite bourgeoisie through the family. It is worth remembering, here, that sons did not assume the same status as their fathers. Secondly, there is a strong relationship with grooms in the small master class having fathers from the ranks of the skilled working-class in the craft and craft-retail trades. Of grooms in the craftsman retailer category fully 45.4 per cent had fathers from a skilled working-class background. By contrast recruitment to the petite bourgeoisie from classes and strata above the petite bourgeoisie in status was more negligible. Only grooms in retailing and craft trades showed a marked relationship, having fathers who were merchants.

TABLE 8.5 INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE, 1870

PERCENTAGE WHOSE FATHERS WERE:

GROOM	MERCHANTS MANUFACTURERS PROFESSIONS	WHITECOLLAR 1	WHITECOLLAR 2	MERCHANT RETAILER	RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	RETAIL ASSISTANT	CRAFTSMAN RETAIL	CRAFTSMAN	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	POLICE, ARMY, NAVY	UNSKILLED	DOMESTIC SERVICE	MISCELLANEOUS	NO OCCUPATION
MERCHANT RETAILER	2.9	-	-	2.9	5.7	20.0	2.9	5.7	2.9	-	-	14.3	-	14.3	17.1	2.9	2.9	5.7	-	-	-	-	-
RETAILER	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	11.9	6.0	20.9	4.5	4.5	-	-	13.4	1.5	4.5	13.4	3.0	3.0	4.5	-	-	-	-	-
CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	2.2	-	-	-	2.2	4.3	2.2	26.1	4.3	-	2.2	4.3	2.2	19.6	15.2	-	2.2	4.3	2.2	-	2.2	-	4.3
CRAFTSMEN	-	-	-	-	5.6	2.8	-	5.6	25.0	-	-	5.6	8.3	-	33.3	-	-	5.6	2.8	-	5.6	-	-
SEMI-SKILLED	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TRANSPORT	-	-	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	16.7	16.7	-	-	-	-	16.7	-	-	-	-
AGRICULTURE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60.0	-	-	20.0	-	-	20.0	-	-	-	-	-

As table 8.5 indicates the trends that were discernable in 1855 remained fairly similar in 1870. Again there is a strong correlation between grooms who were small masters possessing fathers from the same class, and where a father was not already petit bourgeois he was more likely to be a member of the skilled working-class. Recruitment of the class from families above the petite bourgeoisie remained small, as did links with the unskilled labouring working-class.

By 1890 these established trends had hardly altered. From table 8.6 it is still the case that large numbers of grooms who were small masters had fathers of similar status, and again the social relationship with the skilled working-class with grooms marrying into families from that background an important feature of the evidence.

An overall picture of the period 1855 to 1890 is presented in figure 3. Information from the tables was collated into six categories: Established middle-class; white-collar; petite bourgeoisie; retail assistants; skilled working-class; other. The histograms depict the contrast of all small master grooms in 1855, 1870 and 1890 with the occupational status of their fathers. Overall the picture remains fairly static with the importance of the petit bourgeois family reproducing itself through sons strikingly illustrated in each sample year. From the evidence it is possible to conclude that the petite bourgeoisie was the

TABLE 8.6 INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE, 1890

PERCENTAGE WHOSE FATHERS WERE:

GROOM	MANUFACTURERS	MERCHANTS	PROFESSIONS	WHITECOLLAR 1	WHITECOLLAR 2	MERCHANT RETAILER	RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	RETAIL ASSISTANT	CRAFTSMAN RETAIL	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	UNSKILLED	POLICE, ARMY, NAVY	DOMESTIC SERVICE	MISCELLANEOUS	NO OCCUPATION
MERCHANT RETAILER	-	-	-	2.0	2.0	22.0	12.0	2.0	8.0	-	-	18.0	2.0	10.0	8.0	4.0	-	6.0	-	-	-	-	4.0
RETAILER	1.7	1.7	3.4	-	1.7	1.7	34.5	1.7	6.9	1.7	-	8.6	3.4	5.2	13.8	1.7	3.4	5.2	1.7	-	-	-	1.7
CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	-	-	-	-	6.5	4.3	4.3	21.7	8.7	-	-	2.2	2.2	23.9	13.0	4.3	4.3	-	-	4.3	-	2.2	-
CRAFTSMAN	-	-	-	-	2.9	-	5.7	2.9	28.6	2.9	-	11.4	2.9	2.9	28.6	-	5.7	2.9	-	-	2.9	-	-
SEMI-SKILLED	-	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-
TRANSPORT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66.7	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
AGRICULTURE	-	-	-	-	-	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	83.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

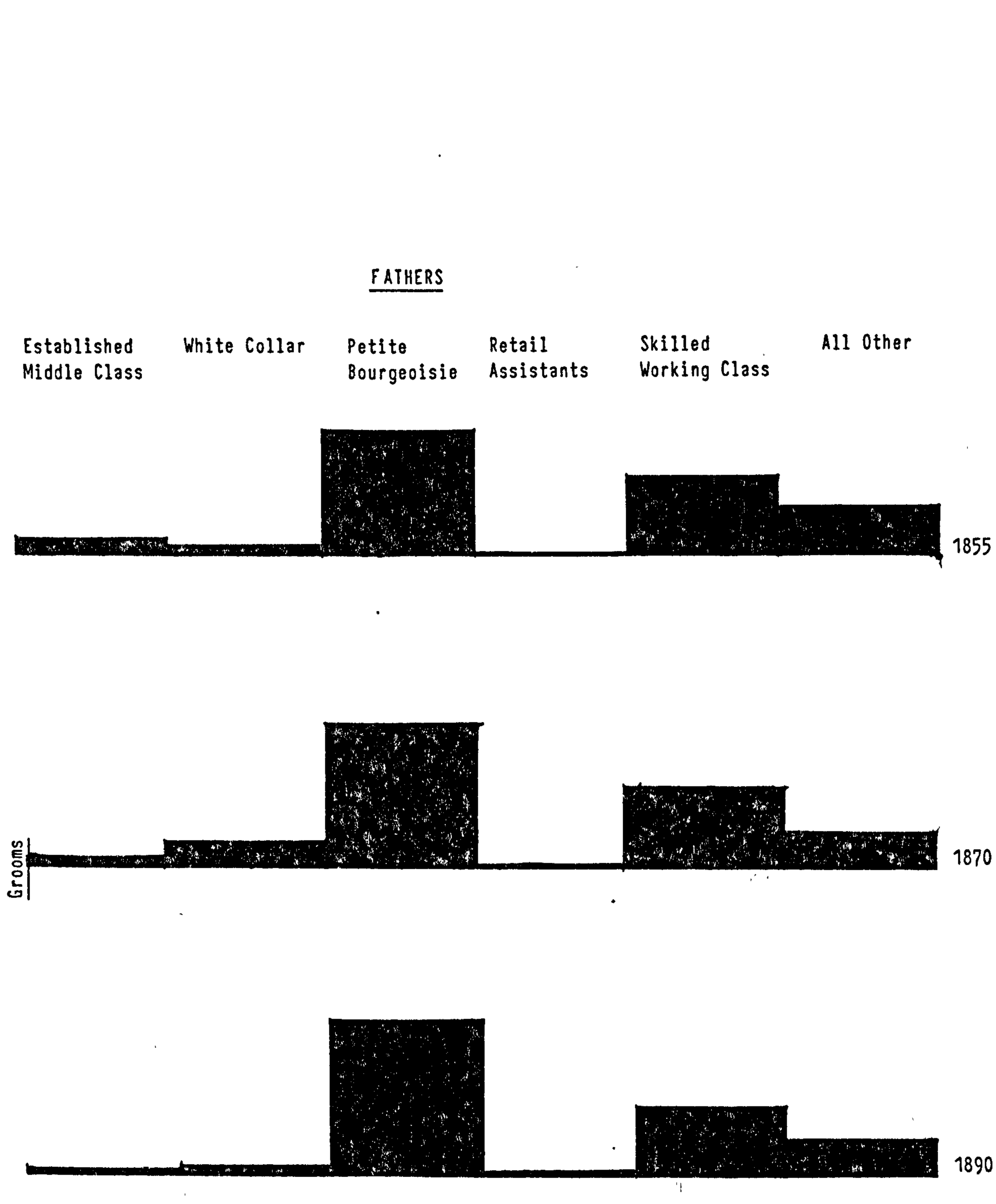

FIG 3 INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE

major source of recruitment to its own class by providing for the welfare and experience of business life; of its sons. The other major source of recruitment to the class were the sons of the skilled working class. Mobility into the petite bourgeoisie was in the main from upwardly mobile sons of the labour aristocrats. In some senses this was reflective of the apprenticeship system as a prelude to becoming journeymen and then small masters. Contrastingly recruitment to the class of sons with backgrounds in the established middle-class, white collar and retail assistants groups was low. The bulky 'other' category in figure was composed of a disparate number of occupations ranging from police constables to the unskilled. The significance of these low status occupations is compounded by their actual number.

From examining grooms who were petit bourgeois the chapter now moves to examining those fathers who were small masters and examines the occupational status of their sons at the age of marriage. This is again undertaken for the years 1855, 1870 and 1890 and is presented in tables 8.7, 8.8 and 8.9.

TABLE 8.7 INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE, 1855

PERCENTAGE WHOSE SONS WERE:

FATHER	MERCHANTS MANUFACTURERS PROFESSIONS	WHITECOLLAR 1	WHITECOLLAR 2 MERCHANT RETAILER	RETAILER CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT AGRICULTURE	RETAIL ASSISTANT CRAFTSMAN RETAIL	CRAFTSMAN SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT AGRICULTURE	UNSKILLED POLICE, ARMY, NAVY	DOMESTIC SERVICE MISCELLANEOUS	NO OCCUPATION
MERCHANT RETAILER	11.5	3.8	3.8	15.4	3.8	7.7	3.8	15.4	23.1	3.8	3.8	3.8
RETAILER	11.1	-	8.3	-	13.9	-	11.1	16.7	19.4	2.8	2.8	2.8
CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	11.1	5.6	11.1	-	5.6	5.6	5.6	44.4	5.6	5.6	-	-
CRAFTSMAN	7.0	4.7	11.6	2.3	18.6	2.3	2.3	9.3	39.5	-	-	2.3
SEMI-SKILLED	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	66.7	-	-
TRANSPORT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-
AGRICULTURE	9.4	1.0	15.6	5.2	4.2	4.2	7.3	10.4	11.5	2.1	6.3	4.2

Table 8.7 illustrates the evidence for 1855. On the question of the features of social mobility a number of points emerge. Firstly, and perhaps most striking, is the number of sons following skilled working-class occupations in the craft and craft-retail trades. In the case of fathers who were in retail business 37.1 per cent had sons in these occupational areas. Again, for example, of those sons of small master craftsmen fully 48.8 per cent were employed in craft and craft retail trades. The reproduction of the class with sons occupying the same occupational status as their fathers is again an important feature of the evidence. This was particularly true of merchant retailers with 26.9 per cent of sons having become small masters. Another feature of the evidence is the extent to which white-collar employments are an alternative to a career as small businessman or skilled worker for sons. White-collar employment was, of course, an important feature of the occupational structure of the city.[25] The extent of upward mobility for the sons of the petite bourgeoisie into the established middle-class is best seen through the number of sons entering the professions. In 1855 this was fairly low with only one in ten of sons doing so. In short there was little upward mobility.

TABLE 8.8 INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE, 1870

PERCENTAGE WHOSE SONS WERE:

FATHER	PROFESSIONS	MANUFACTURERS	MERCHANTS	WHITECOLLAR 1	WHITECOLLAR 2	MERCHANT RETAILER	RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	RETAIL ASSISTANT	CRAFTSMAN RETAIL	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	UNSKILLED	POLICE, ARMY, NAVY	DOMESTIC SERVICE	MISCELLANEOUS	NO OCCUPATION
MERCHANT RETAILER	3.8	-	2.0	5.8	17.3	13.5	7.7	3.8	2.0	-	-	-	9.6	7.7	19.2	2.0	2.0	-	2.0	-	-	2.0	-
RETAILER	4.1	2.7	1.4	2.7	11.0	-	19.2	1.4	-	-	-	-	12.3	5.5	20.5	4.1	2.7	1.4	2.7	8.2	-	-	-
CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	1.5	-	-	-	5.9	3.0	4.4	17.6	3.0	-	-	1.5	5.9	22.1	20.6	-	3.0	-	1.5	8.8	1.5	-	-
CRAFTSMAN	2.7	-	-	2.7	15.1	1.4	4.1	2.7	12.3	-	-	-	1.4	4.1	44.0	-	-	-	1.4	5.5	2.7	-	-
SEMI-SKILLED	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TRANSPORT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.1	-	-44.4	-		-	22.2	11.1	-	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
AGRICULTURE	4.4	0.7	2.2	4.4	12.6	3.7	6.7	1.5	1.5	-	-	2.2	8.9	7.4	22.2	3.0	4.4	-	3.9	7.4	3.0	-	-

From the trend established in 1855 there was little significant change by 1870, table 8.8. The number of sons entering skilled working-class employments remains important, as does the number of sons becoming small masters like their fathers. White-collar employment continues to be an important, and expanding, alternative. This was particularly true of the lower clerical end of the market. In contrast, the opportunities for upward mobility into the established middle-class was, in percentage terms, on a small but noticeable decline. Contact with the unskilled and semi-skilled working-class groups had been relatively insignificant, and remained so.

By 1890 there was again no appreciable difference from the trends apparent in 1855. The picture remains relatively static, and is shown in table 8.9. The information needs no amplification. An overall picture of the period is presented in figure 4. Quite clearly the histograms show the extent of inter-generational mobility among sons of small masters in 1855, 1870 and 1890. Similarly the figure illustrates the static quality of the evidence over time. The sons of small masters in each of the sample years are at the time of marriage employed in the main in skilled working-class trades.

TABLE 8.9 INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE, 1890

PERCENTAGE WHOSE SONS WERE:

FATHER	MERCHANTS MANUFACTURERS PROFESSIONS	WHITECOLLAR 2 WHITECOLLAR 1	MERCHANT RETAILER RETAILER CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN SEMI-SKILLED AGRICULTURE TRANSPORT	RETAIL ASSISTANT CRAFTSMAN RETAIL SEMI-SKILLED TRANSPORT AGRICULTURE	POLICE, ARMY, NAVY UNSKILLED	DOMESTIC SERVICE	MISCELLANEOUS	NO OCCUPATION
MERCHANT RETAILER	3.1 - 1.3	5.1 21.8	14.1 1.3 2.6 1.3 - - 1.3		10.3 6.4 21.8 2.6 5.1 - - - 1.3 - -				
RETAILER CRAFTSMAN	3.8 - -	3.8 18.2	4.5 15.2 1.5 0.8 - - -		14.4 9.8 13.6 3.8 5.3 0.8 - 3.0 1.5 - -				
RETAILER	3.9 - -	5.9 7.8	2.0 2.0 19.7 2.0 - - -		2.0 31.4 15.7 - 2.0 - 2.0 2.0 2.0 - -				
CRAFTSMAN	2.7 1.4 1.4	8.1 10.8	5.4 5.4 5.4 13.5 - - -		2.7 1.4 27.0 1.4 4.1 - 2.7 4.1 2.7 - -				
SEMI-SKILLED	- - -	- -	- 25.0 - 25.0 - - -		- - 25.0 25.0 - - - - - - -				
TRANSPORT	8.3 - -	8.3 16.7	- - - - - 16.7 -		- 8.3 25.0 - 16.7 - - - - - -				
AGRICULTURE	5.8 - 0.8	6.7 17.5	7.5 4.2 0.8 3.3 - - 4.2		11.7 7.5 11.7 5.8 2.5 - 5.0 2.5 2.5 - -				

GROOMS

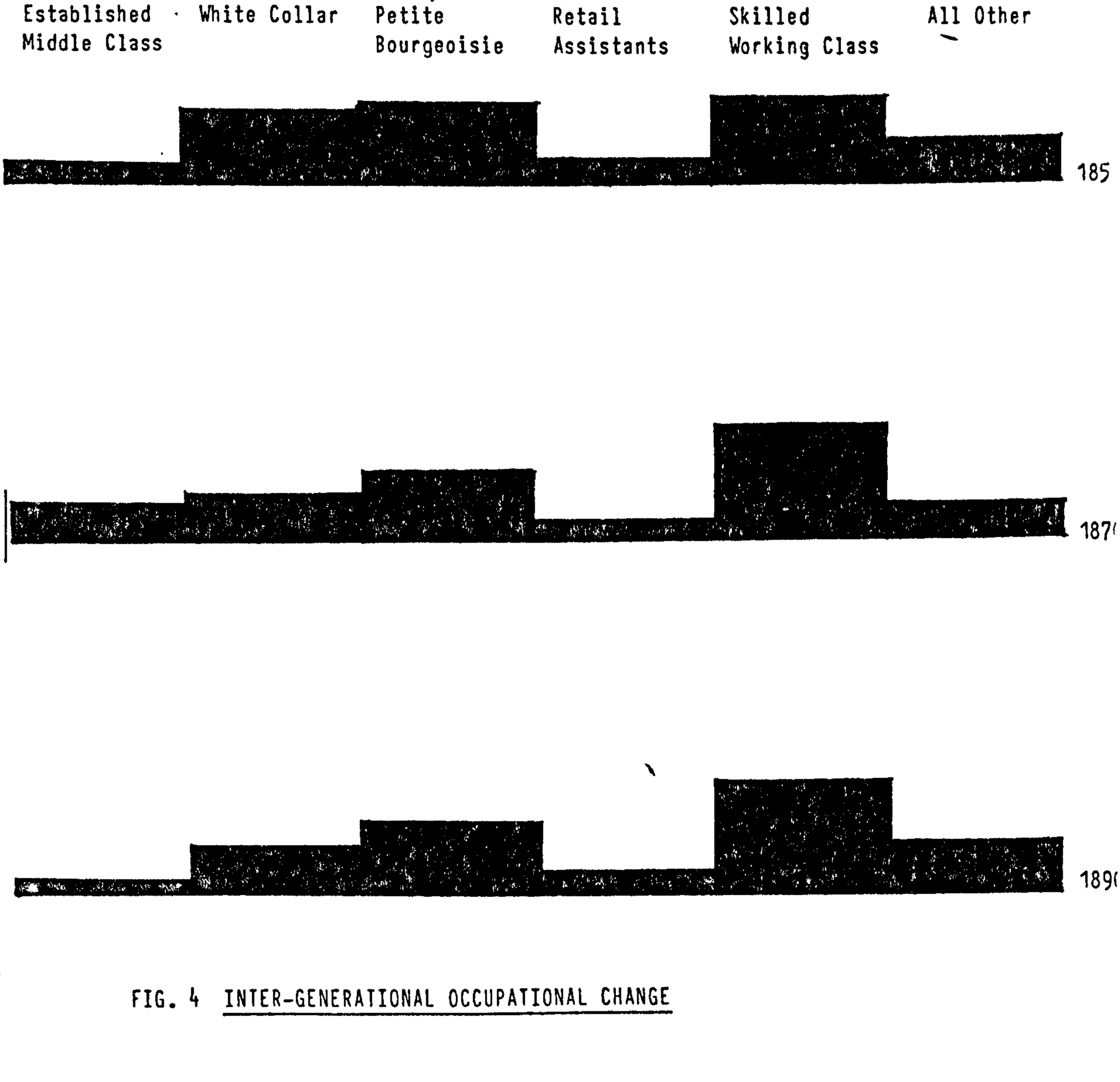

FIG. 4 INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE

From the evidence on social mobility and the petite bourgeoisie a number of conclusions emerge. Firstly, the extent of upward mobility into the established middle-class, particularly for the sons of the petite bourgeoisie was limited. Stratification in this respect appears fairly rigid, emphasising the closed nature of opportunities for upward mobility. Secondly, recruitment to the small master class was likely to come from two major sources, from sons whose fathers were already petit bourgeois, and from sons from the skilled working-class. Thus the petite bourgeoisie as a class reproduced itself through its sons and looked to the skilled working-class as its major source of recruitment. Thirdly, the sons of the petite bourgeoisie experienced greater employment opportunities than the mass of the working-class. They were more likely to find employment in the skilled craft trades, to follow their fathers into business or to take advantage of the expanding lower white-collar job market in Edinburgh.

Such conclusions hardly square with a contemporary view that:

> Edinburgh is eminently genteel. The shopkeeping-class rarely bring up their children to their own trade. They train their boys to enter a profession, and their girls to marry into one. To hear matrons of the shop-keeping class discussing, over the tea-cups, the prospects of their children is highly amusing. Trade is never mentioned.[26]

Upward mobility for the sons of the petite bourgeoisie was rare in the occupational or business setting. Other avenues of mobility included marriage. This was particularly true for petit bourgeois daughters, and it did not preclude a measure of social mobility for sons marrying above themselves in rank and status. Marriage was in addition a further test of the openness of society as it allows an appreciation of the contact and social distance that existed between classes and strata.

MARRIAGE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Table 8.10 contrasts the occupational status of the groom with that of his father-in-law in a sample taken from the evidence of 1855 used in the inter-generational mobility study. From the evidence it may be possible to reach conclusions as to patterns of social distance between strata and class. In the table it is once more the rows that are important and not the columns. Amongst the small master grooms only the retailers were significant in marrying daughters of small masters engaged in a similar area of business, and 23.1 per cent of their number did so. The most interesting feature, perhaps, is the close contact through marriage between the petite bourgeoisie and the skilled working-class. Significant numbers of grooms who were small masters found their brides from families in the

TABLE 8.10 MARRIAGE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE, 1855

PERCENTAGE WHERE FATHER OF BRIDE WAS:

GROOM	MERCHANTS	MANUFACTURERS	PROFESSIONS	WHITECOLLAR 2	WHITECOLLAR 1	MERCHANT RETAILER	RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	RETAIL ASSISTANT	CRAFTSMAN RETAIL	CRAFTSMAN	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	POLICE, ARMY, NAVY	UNSKILLED	DOMESTIC SERVICE	MISCELLANEOUS	NO OCCUPATION
MERCHANT RETAILER	5.0	5.0	-	5.0	10.0	-	-	-	5.0	-	-	5.0	5.0	15.0	30.0	-	-	5.0	-	-	10.0	-	-
RETAILER	-	3.8	-	-	3.8	3.8	23.1	7.7	3.8	-	3.8	3.8	-	15.4	11.5	-	3.8	-	7.7	-	3.8	-	3.8
CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	4.5	4.5	9.1	9.1	9.1	4.5	4.5	9.1	-	-	-	4.5	-	13.6	13.6	-	4.5	-	-	9.1	-	-	-
CRAFTSMAN	4.5	-	9.1	13.6	-	4.5	-	9.1	9.1	-	-	4.5	13.6	9.1	-	-	4.5	4.5	4.5	-	9.1	-	-
SEMI-SKILLED	-	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TRANSPORT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.3
AGRICULTURE	-	-	10.0	-	-	-	10.0	10.0	40.0	-	-	-	20.0	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

labour aristocracy. As might be expected there was a correlation between small masters marrying into families of similar status. This was particularly true in the case of the retailers where 46 per cent of grooms married into petit bourgeois families. The ability of grooms to marry into families above them in social status is indicated in the figures for those grooms marrying daughters from the professions, manufacturers and merchant groups. Among the craftsman retailers 18.2 per cent of grooms married above themselves in rank. Contrastingly only 3.8 per cent of retailers did so. The assumption that the petite bourgeoisie shared with the lower whitecollar 2 group a similar background and related culture is not essentially substantiated by the evidence of grooms marrying daughters from that background; and despite the numerical importance of such employment in the city. Of greater social significance was the almost complete lack of contact through marriage between those grooms who were petit bourgeois and the semi-skilled and unskilled working-class.

Table 8.11 again examines the marriages of small master grooms for the year 1870. From the evidence the following is clear. Firstly, that significant numbers of grooms found marriage partners from their own class. In the case of merchant retailers 40.1 per cent married women from petit bourgeois backgrounds. Amongst craftsmen 34.8 per cent did so. Contrastingly few grooms married above

TABLE 8.11 MARRIAGE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE, 1870

PERCENTAGE WHERE FATHER OF BRIDE WAS:

GROOM	MERCHANTS MANUFACTURERS PROFESSIONS	WHITECOLLAR 2 WHITECOLLAR 1	MERCHANT RETAILER RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN RETAIL CRAFTSMAN	AGRICULTURE TRANSPORT SEMI-SKILLED	RETAIL ASSISTANT CRAFTSMAN RETAIL	CRAFTSMAN AGRICULTURE TRANSPORT	SEMI-SKILLED UNSKILLED	POLICE, ARMY, NAVY DOMESTIC SERVICE	MISCELLANEOUS	NO OCCUPATION
MERCHANT RETAILER	5.7 - -	5.7 8.6	14.3 20.0 2.9	- - - 2.9	8.6 2.9 8.6	11.4 - 2.9	2.9 - 2.9	- -			
RETAILER	4.5 1.5 4.5	10.4 4.5	6.0 7.5 6.0	9.0 - 1.5 4.5	4.5 7.5 17.9	- 1.5 6.0	- 3.0 -	- -			
CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	- 2.2 -	6.5 2.2	4.3 2.2 10.9	6.5 - - 10.9	2.2 15.2 17.4	- 2.2 4.3	2.2 4.3 -	- 6.5			
CRAFTSMAN	2.8 2.8 -	2.8 5.6	5.6 2.8 2.8	11.1 - - 8.3	8.3 11.1 19.4	- 2.8 5.6	2.8 - 5.6	- -			
SEMI-SKILLED	- - -	- -	- - -	- - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- -			
TRANSPORT	- - -	- -	- 33.3 -	16.7 - - -	- - 33.3	16.7 - -	- - -	- -			
AGRICULTURE	- - -	- -	- 40.0 -	- - - 20.0	- - -	- 40.0 -	- - -	- -			

themselves with women from the established middle-class. Only amongst grooms who were retailers was there a noticeable relationship with the established middle-class. Beyond marrying within their own class the most significant social link through marriage was with the skilled working-class. This was particularly true amongst grooms who were craftsmen and craftsmen retailers. Links with the whitecollar group remained noticeable but did not nearly approach the pattern of marriage with the skilled working-class.

By 1890 the established pattern of social distance through marriage remained similar to what it had been in 1855 and 1870 for small master grooms. From table 8.12 it is again clear that grooms from the petite bourgeoisie on the whole chose to marry women from a similar class background. Where the bride was not petit bourgeois she was more than likely to come from a skilled working-class family. Contact with the established middle-class in 1890 was almost negligible.

The evidence from tables 8.10, 8.11 and 8.12 is illustrated in figure 5. The picture from the histograms reinforces the evidence of the tables, highlighting in particular the strong relationship among grooms marrying brides from the same class, and the close links with the skilled working-class.

TABLE 8.12 MARRIAGE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE, 1890

PERCENTAGE WHERE FATHER OF THE BRIDE WAS:

GROOM	MERCHANTS	MANUFACTURERS	PROFESSIONS	WHITECOLLAR 1	WHITECOLLAR 2	MERCHANT RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	RETAIL ASSISTANT	CRAFTSMAN RETAIL	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	DOMESTIC SERVICE	POLICE, ARMY, NAVY	UNSKILLED	MISCELLANEOUS	NO OCCUPATION
MERCHANT RETAILER	2.0	-	6.0	4.0	8.0	4.0	16.0	4.0	4.0	-	-	10.0	2.0	2.0	12.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	4.0	-	2.0	-	2.0
RETAILER	-	1.7	1.7	1.7	10.3	3.4	12.1	8.6	-	-	1.7	8.6	6.9	3.4	19.0	1.7	6.9	5.2	1.7	-	-	-	5.2
CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	-	-	-	-	6.5	2.2	2.2	8.7	6.5	-	-	6.5	8.7	6.5	32.6	2.2	6.5	-	2.2	4.3	-	2.2	2.2
CRAFTSMAN	-	-	-	8.6	2.9	5.7	5.7	2.9	5.7	-	-	14.3	11.4	5.7	20.0	-	-	8.6	2.9	-	5.7	-	-
SEMI-SKILLED	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TRANSPORT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AGRICULTURE	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	16.7	-	-	-	16.7	-	-	-16.7	-	-	-

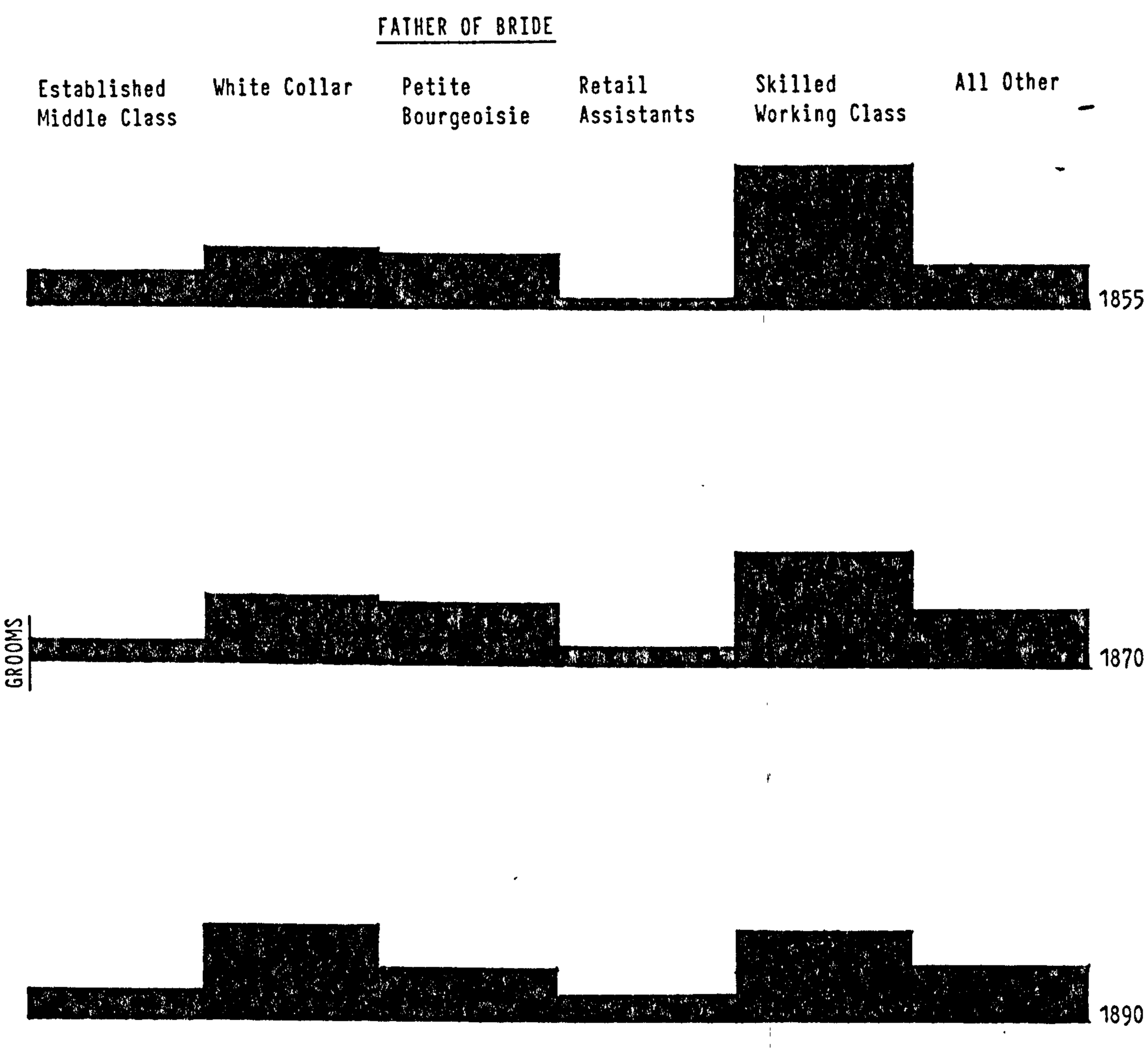

FIG. 5 MARRIAGE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

There was, of course, two social backgrounds in every marriage. Analysis now turns to examining those brides whose fathers were petit bourgeois and the choice of marriage partner. For as noted previously, there was an assumption that the small masters actively sought to secure advantageous marriages for their daughters. Tables 8.13, 8.14 and 8.15 contrasts those fathers of the bride who were petit bourgeois with the occupational status of their new son-in-laws in 1855, 1870 and 1890. From the evidence for 1855, table 8.13, the most striking feature is the links through marriage with the skilled working-class. Amongst merchant retailers 30.3 per cent had daughters marrying with this group, and among the crafts-men retailers the figure was an impressive 59.6 per cent. Other features of the evidence include the importance of daughters marrying grooms from their own class, together with the importance of the number of grooms from the white-collar groups. There was in 1855 noticeable contact with the established middle-class, this being particularly true of the merchant retailers for 18.2 per cent of daughters married into the established middle-class. Of considerably less importance was the extent of contact with the semi and unskilled working-class, which was less frequent.

TABLE 8.13 MARRIAGE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE, 1855

PERCENTAGE WHERE GROOM WAS:

FATHER OF BRIDE	MERCHANTS	MANUFACTURERS	PROFESSIONS	WHITECOLLAR 1	WHITECOLLAR 2	MERCHANT RETAILER	RETAIL	CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	POLICE, ARMY, NAVY	UNSKILLED	AGRICULTURE	TRANSPORT	SEMI-SKILLED	CRAFTSMAN	CRAFTSMAN RETAIL	RETAIL ASSISTANT	AGRICULTURE	TRANSPORT	SEMI-SKILLED	CRAFTSMAN	DOMESTIC SERVICE	MISCELLANEOUS	NO OCCUPATION
MERCHANT RETAILER	12.1	-	6.1	6.1	12.1	6.1	3.0	3.0	3.0	-	-	-	3.0	3.0	27.3	3.0	3.0	-	-	3.0	3.0	-	3.0				
RETAILER	2.3	9.3	2.3	2.3	14.0	-	14.0	2.3	-	-	-	2.3	7.0	9.3	25.6	4.7	-	-	2.3	-	2.3	-	-				
CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	4.8	-	-	2.4	9.5	-	4.8	4.8	4.8	-	-	2.4	2.4	28.6	31.0	2.4	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-				
CRAFTSMAN	-	2.7	5.4	5.4	19.0	2.7	2.7	-	5.4	-	-10.8		-	16.2	19.0	-	-	-	2.7	5.4	-	-	2.7				
SEMI-SKILLED	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
TRANSPORT	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	25.0	-	-	-	-		-	-	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
AGRICULTURE	7.8	-	-	-	15.7	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	-	-	-	7.8	17.6	19.6	3.9	-	-	3.9	11.8	2.0	-	2.0				

TABLE 8.14 MARRIAGE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE, 1870

PERCENTAGE WHERE GROOM WAS:

FATHER OF BRIDE	PROFESSIONS	MANUFACTURERS	MERCHANTS	WHITECOLLAR 1	WHITECOLLAR 2	MERCHANT RETAILER	RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN RETAIL	CRAFTSMAN	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	RETAIL ASSISTANT	CRAFTSMAN RETAIL	CRAFTSMAN	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	UNSKILLED	POLICE, ARMY, NAVY	DOMESTIC SERVICE	MISCELLANEOUS	NO OCCUPATION
MERCHANT RETAILER	7.6	3.0	4.5	3.0	10.7	7.6	6.1	3.0	3.0	-	-	-	9.1	15.2	15.2	1.5	-	-	4.5	3.0	1.5	1.5	-
RETAILER	6.6	-	-	7.9	18.4	6.6	6.6	1.3	1.3	-	2.6	2.6	5.3	9.2	17.1	2.6	2.6	1.3	3.9	3.9	1.3	-	-
CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	-	1.9	1.9	10.7	8.9	1.9	7.1	8.9	1.9	-	1.9	-	3.6	17.9	25.0	1.9	1.9	-	1.9	-	3.6	-	-
CRAFTSMAN	5.5	-	-	4.1	19.2	-	8.2	4.1	5.5	-	-	-	8.2	11.0	26.0	-	2.7	-	1.5	1.5	2.7	-	-
SEMI-SKILLED	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TRANSPORT	-	-	-	-	16.7	-	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16.7	-	33.3	-	16.7	-	-	-	-
AGRICULTURE	2.4	-	4.7	4.7	10.6	1.2	3.5	5.9	3.5	-	-	1.2	3.5	5.9	24.7	4.7	3.5	1.2	4.7	11.8	2.4	-	-

In 1870 a similar pattern to 1855 is evident. However, there is one notable exception and that is the growing importance of daughters marrying grooms from the white-collar strata. From table 8.14, it can be seen for example that in the case of daughters of retailers 18.4 per cent married grooms whose status fell in the lower end of the whitecollar market, and a further 7.9 per cent married husbands from the upper end. Contact through marriage with the skilled working-class remained the striking feature of the evidence. Contrastingly there was an imperceptible decline in the extent of contact with the established middle-class.

By 1890 the evidence from table 8.15 points to a growing trend where daughters from small master households found husbands among the white-collar strata so much so that for some groups they replaced the skilled working-class as the major source of marriage partners. In the case of merchant retailers 27.3 per cent of daughters married grooms from the lower end of the white-collar labour market and a further 9.1 per cent the upper. Overall the links with the skilled working-class remained as did the importance of marrying within the petit bourgeois community.

Once more the evidence from the tables covering the years 1855, 1870 and 1890 is illustrated in figure 6. The histograms allow an appreciation of change occurring in the period. It is noticeable that the important link with the

TABLE 8.15 MARRIAGE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE, 1890

PERCENTAGE WHERE GROOM WAS:

FATHER OF BRIDE	PROFESSIONS	MANUFACTURERS	MERCHANTS	WHITECOLLAR 1	WHITECOLLAR 2	MERCHANT RETAILER	RETAILER	CRAFTSMAN RETAIL	CRAFTSMAN	SEMI-SKILLED TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	RETAIL ASSISTANT	CRAFTSMAN RETAIL	CRAFTSMAN	SEMI-SKILLED	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	UNSKILLED	POLICE, ARMY, NAVY	DOMESTIC SERVICE	MISCELLANEOUS	NO OCCUPATION
MERCHANT RETAILER	9.1	3.0	1.5	9.1	27.3	3.0	3.0	1.5	3.0	-	-	3.0	7.6	6.1	13.6	1.5	1.5	-	-	3.0	3.0	-	-
RETAILER	5.0	-	2.0	4.0	20.8	7.9	6.9	1.0	2.0	-	-	1.0	10.9	8.9	10.9	5.0	7.9	-	3.0	1.0	2.0	-	-
CRAFTSMAN RETAILER	2.8	1.4	-	6.9	22.2	2.8	6.9	5.6	1.4	-	-	-	5.6	8.3	22.2	5.6	4.2	-	1.4	2.8	-	-	-
CRAFTSMAN	9.9	1.2	1.2	3.7	22.2	2.5	-	3.7	2.5	-	-	-	11.1	8.6	16.0	2.5	3.7	-	4.9	3.7	2.5	-	-
SEMI-SKILLED	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	33.3	-	-	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
TRANSPORT	11.1	-	-	11.1	33.3	-	11.1	-	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	22.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AGRICULTURE	3.7	0.9	1.7	6.5	16.8	4.7	4.7	2.8	4.7	-	-	-	7.5	6.5	23.4	3.7	5.6	-	0.9	2.8	2.8	-	-

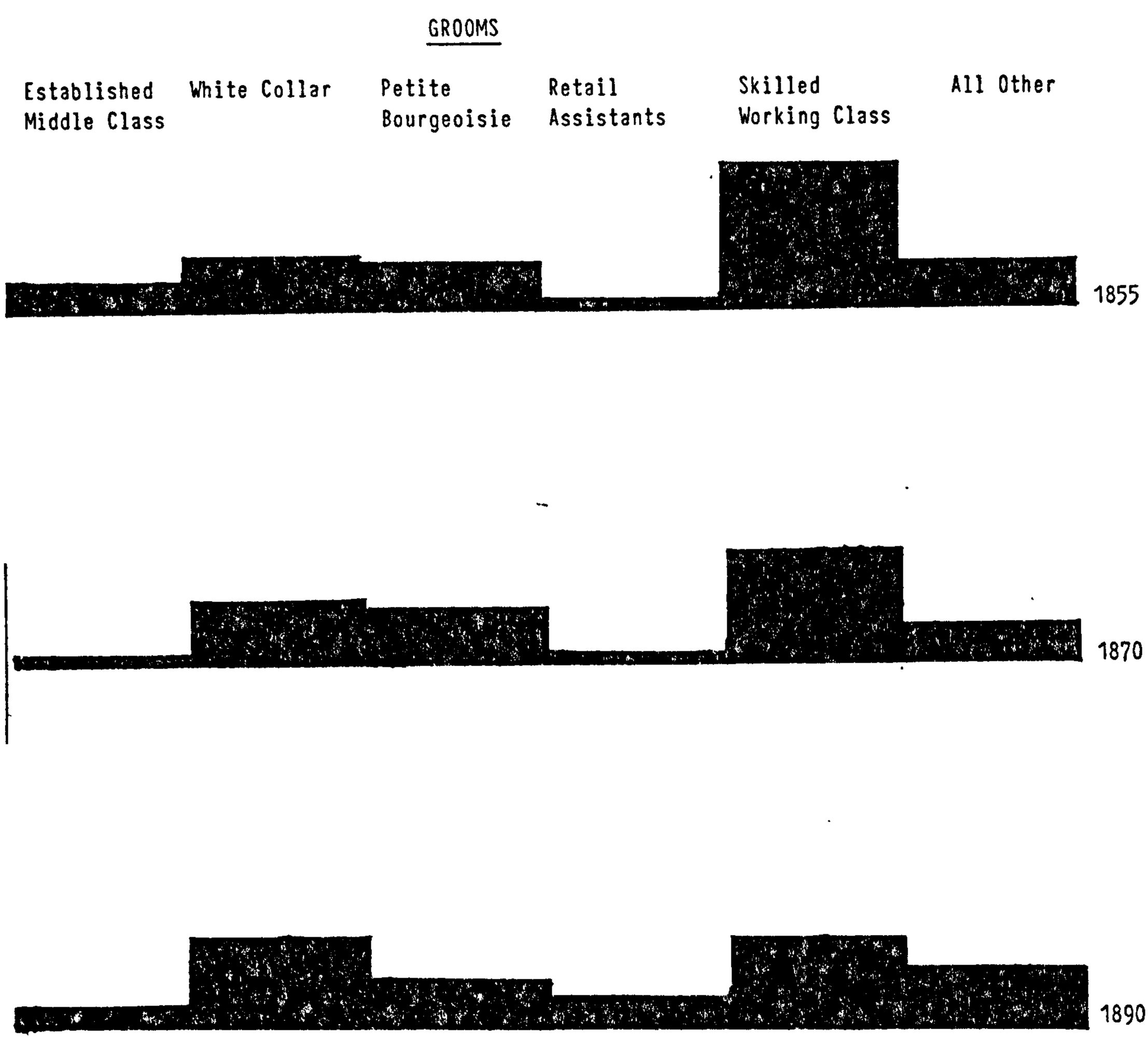

FIG. 6 MARRIAGE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Skilled working-class community remains a feature throughout the period. Again marriage within the small master community was important. Significantly there is a growing trend towards marriage with the white-collar strata and this is once more drawn out in the figure.

From the evidence of the marriage data a number of conclusions can be drawn regarding the social activity and relations enjoyed by the petite bourgeoisie. Firstly, there is a distinct lack of contact through marriage with the established middle-class. There is little truth in the view that the petite bourgeoisie married their daughters off to individuals from the established middle-class. Equally, few grooms of the petite bourgeoisie married brides above them in rank and status. Secondly, and more important is the contact with the skilled working-class community. This was particularly true of small master grooms who chose their brides from the labour aristocrats. Thirdly, significant numbers of brides and grooms married from the petite bourgeoisie married within their own class. Finally, the white-collar strata proved to be an important source of husbands for the daughters of small masters. Overall then for the petite bourgeoisie they might marry within their class or below it with those groups closest in terms of status and values, but there was a rigid barrier that seemed to prevent any upward mobility or contact with the established middle-class.

THE PARAPHERNALIA OF RESPECTABILITY

The ideology of the petite bourgeoisie was essentially concerned with status, respectability and independence. As Crossick notes the idea of respectability was fundamentally Victorian in its concern for style, outward display and personal morality.[27] Though often used as an alternative to wealth as a criterion for social judgement, the possession of wealth nonetheless conferred status and respectability. The outward display of wealth took many forms including dress, servant holding, the composition of the household, and housing. Of course ideology did not always square with economic reality. Status and respectability called for recognition, and that came with outward display. But how far in regard to other classes could the petite bourgeoisie demonstrate their claims to respectability and status through display? In this section the small masters are examined with regard to how far their economic position allowed them to partake in status and respectability functions.

Historians of the petite bourgeoisie have noted the status aspirations of the class, and have argued that the small masters were often motivated by the need for success and achievement.[28] The pursuit and demonstration of status was more than the mere display of social position and wealth. For the petite bourgeoisie it was one way of coping, living, and coming to terms with the manifest

inequality in nineteenth century Edinburgh. Status and its concomitant respectability could serve to distance a section of the petite bourgeoisie from the poorer working-classes. However, there was always a section of the small master class who lived and shared in the values of the working-class community. Nonetheless, even here this group was often accorded status and respectability by those around it.[29] As small businessmen the petite bourgeoisie were possessed of a measure of gentlemanliness. This was conferred upon them by the established middle-class, who sought to combine the social and moral meanings of respectability. Thus having respectability was a claim for moral superiority, based upon 'property and social position by the exercise of qualities of industry, honesty and self-control that the economically unsuccessful generally did not possess'.[30] The established middle-classes bestowed upon the intermediate stratum of petit bourgeois and white-collar groups the status of 'gentlemanly' which served to create a contact barrier between the established middle-class and the working-class.

The consciousness of respectability was in part therefore, the result of the dissemination of dominant bourgeois values amongst the petite bourgeoisie. Yet it must be remembered that such values had often a willing acceptance among the small masters. At the same time such values might be adopted in a manner to serve the interests of the

petite bourgeoisie rather than the interests of the dominant bourgeois elite. One agent of the hegemonic process was the press. In Edinburgh, Chambers' Edinburgh Journal was an organ of the"middling classes." At its inception in 1832 the editors described the format and purpose: 'The articles are partly original, consisting of tales, sketches of society (chiefly of the middle ranks of life), and matters of solid and useful information.'[31] It gave shape to, and articulated, the values of, among other strata, the petite bourgeoisie. In doing so much emphasis was placed on respectability, thus on the importance of dress an early article was to state:

> A black coat, to many of our readers, will appear a thing of no particular virtue, if the person wearing it be not otherwise entitled to respect. But this is a most mistaken notion. A black coat, upon whatever back it may appear, is a thing of immense importance and effect. It is the principal outward symbol and sign of respectability; and no sensible man, whatever be his circumstances, will ever be without so essential a necessary of life . . . . We speak with the more confidence on this subject, from having once known a ruined tradesman - a man destitute of all the entrinsic advantages already described - who kept himself afloat for about fifteen years by means of a black coat alone.[32]

It is important to note the significance of the language used and the image portrayed. In particular 'who kept himself afloat.' Here there is a clear reference to sinking: to sinking into the general poverty of the masses. The black coat, the outward sign of respectability was the one distinguishing feature that differentiated the individual from the masses. It guaranteed him his status and acceptance in the circles of respectable society.

The emphasis placed on respectability reflected the importance of its meaning for the various strata in nineteenth century Edinburgh. Chambers' Edinburgh Journal in an article, 'Respectable and not Respectable' published in 1833, sought to analyse the social phenomenon of respectability. It concluded that 'the idea is so far arbitrary; but we may pretty safely assume, as a general rule, that the respectable people are those who have the means of living in the best style within a certain range of territory . . . . Wealth is more or less at the bottom of it'.[33] Dress was easily the most identifiable attribute of status, indeed 'the knack of keeping to respectability in dress is to leave off a peculiar garment or ornament the moment it finds its way among those of an inferior station. In this way, the higher classes are continually leaving the middle and lower ranks in the lurch.' Here it was clear that social emulation was part of the respectability game, however, "the middle ranks are found to be dreadfully galled by the exclusiveness of the higher; but they should first consider if they are less exclusive themselves . . . . The peeress talks of the narrow circle at almacks; and the wife of the comfortable tradesman speaks of respectable people, meaning not virtuous or good people, but a set who are above a certain degree of income."[34] Here in the quest for social emulation were the ingredients for Heightons later description of the war of the status groups in Edinburgh, writing in 1860, he could state:

> The merchants - not great with us - stand between the professionals and the shopkeepers; these are getting up; the Big Panes despise the Little Panes. The latter expel the Tradesmen, who erect a nez retroussez against the labourers. [35]

Once accepted by the petite bourgeoisie it was not long before the values of respectability were being used by some small masters to inculcate their workforce. Isobella Hay, writing of her grandfather, remembered that the rule 'of the business was that the workers were obliged to wear black coats and tile hats like professional men when going to business, and how they managed to keep themselves in food and lodgings on 17s 6d a week - not to mention the professional rig-out - was somewhat of a mystery.' [36] This pursuit of respectability has much to do with the caricature of the petite bourgeoisie seeking to ape those who were socially superior. Indeed there was much that was true here. Yet if status was to be accorded to individuals in society it was important that those concerned lived within their means and did not indulge in a reckless display which they could not afford. The Edinburgh Property Review and Investment Circular, in 1879, pointed out:

> the large amount of "make-believe" which is to be met with in the New Town and even in the suburban districts of Edinburgh; men and women living in expensive houses, and affecting a certain "style", who, where the real truth known, are either burdened with an incubus of debt . . . or else are maintaining a desperate struggle between pride add poverty, making a little go a long way, and dressing up that little to bulk as largely as possible in the eyes of neighbours and rivals. [37]

On the quest for respectability it was equally forthright and felt that "in Scotland more than in any other country, and in Edinburgh perhaps more than in any other town, the desire to be thought "genteel", has of late been carried to a ridiculous extent among merchants and employers of labour.'[38]

It is clear that much of the nineteenth century writings on respectability both created and reflected the importance of respectability as a model of social existence which found acceptance amongst the petite bourgeoisie. There was in this much that was imitative; the aping of a particular life style. The very wish to copy was testimony to the strength of the dominant bourgeois values. For the petite bourgeoisie respectability was in part necessary to gain acceptance from social superiors. At the same time, the outward display of status was one method of distancing and differentiating themselves from the working-classes. It was, then, very much a two edged affair.

The distancing from the working-classes took many forms; The participation in voluntary associations, leadership in working-class communities, residential segregation, all to a greater or lesser extent were part of the process of differentiation. Above all there was the outward display of wealth; however great. One historian has seen this as the cultivation of the 'paraphernalia of gentility.'[39] Yet how far was such cultivation possible amongst the

economically pressed small masters. For as Fraser's Magazine recognised, "among the mercantile classes a person's respectability is measured by the length of his purse.'[40] Servant holding was but one aspect of the paraphernalia of gentility. Some historians have used servant holding as a definition of middle-classness in the nineteenth century.[41]

To what extent, therefore, was servant holding concomitant with being a petit bourgeois? From table 8.16 a number of observations can be made in respect of the evidence from the 1851 census enumerator books. In the table the established middle-class occupations of manufacturer and merchant offer a part contrast with the more distinctly petit bourgeois occupations. Thus there was a greater trend towards the keeping of household servants by both manufacturers and merchants. This was consistent with their ability to accumulate greater amounts of wealth. Amongst the petite bourgeoisie the most interesting feature of the evidence is the large number of households possessing no servants, 52.3 per cent of small master retailers possessed no servants. Amongst Craftsmen Retailers and Craftsmen the figure was 61.5 per cent respectively. The vast majority of the small masters then possessed no servants. In part this reflected their strained economic position.[42] With the decline of servant holding over the century we can safely assume that the decline was greatest amongst the small master community.

TABLE 8.16 DISTRIBUTION OF DOMESTIC SERVANTS, 1851

		SERVANTS			
	T	0	1	2	3 or more
Manufacturer	84	33.3	38.1	20.2	8.3
Merchant	91	20.9	36.3	33.0	9.9
Merchant Retailer	414	44.7	35.7	13.8	5.8
Retailer	1191	52.3	35.5	10.4	1.8
Craftsman Retailer	1098	61.5	30.0	7.5	1.8
Craftsman	652	61.5	29.3	7.4	1.8
Semi-Skilled	89	74.2	21.3	4.5	-
Transport	50	60.0	40.0	-	-
Agriculture	32	50.0	37.5	12.5	-

Source: 1851 Census Enumerator Books

However, it may also have been due to the nature of the small master household and as such raises some interesting questions. For instance how far were the daughters of the petite bourgeoisie expected to contribute to the economy of the household by performing various tasks including that of servant duties? On the other hand how far were some daughters mere personages of consumption contributing little or nothing to the household economy? Table 8.17 examines the number of daughters of working age living in the household but not possessed of any employment as a percentage of servant keeping households.[43]

From table 8.17 it is evident that some daughters might have been expected to perform household duties thus replacing the need for a servant. Overall the figures for the petit bourgeois household averaged around 16 per cent.

It was probable that this practice was confined to the economically pressed. For it is noticeable that among those households where daughters and servants were present, indicating a degree of material well being, the average percentage figure for the small master household was almost 20 per cent. The greater majority of the petite bourgeoisie were possessed of no servants. Neither was the fact of non-servant holding offset to any great extent by daughters possibly fulfilling the role of servant and contributing to the family economy. Though among the more economically pressed they probably did. Yet there were those sufficiently well off to afford the luxury of a servant(s). This marked a clear status division among the petite bourgeoisie. At the head of this group were those households where adult daughters appeared to have no function beyond consumption.

TABLE 8.17 INCIDENCE OF UNEMPLOYED DAUGHTERS LIVING IN THE HOUSEHOLD AS A PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH SERVANTS, 1851

	Daughters only	Daughters and Servants
Manufacturer	10.9	21.7
Merchant	10.3	25.8
Merchant Retailer	9.5	15.1
Retailer	12.8	11.8
Craftsman Retailer	12.3	15.6
Craftsman	26.6	17.3
Semi-Skilled	10.5	21.0
Transport	13.3	33.3
Agriculture	31.2	25.0

Source: 1851 Census Enumerator Books

The incidence of lodgers within the petit bourgeois household again highlights a number of status related issues. Lodger as used here includes all those not identifiable as members of the household head's family; excluded are kin, domestic servants and visitors. Contractual boarders are also excluded and feature below. The presence of a lodger was in part an indication of the economic well being of the petite bourgeoisie. Where lodgers were present in a household it can be assumed that relative hardship was to be found.[44] From table 8.18 it can be readily seen that the incidence of lodgers among petit bourgeois households was only of the order of around one in ten. Nonetheless when compared to the established middle-class of manufacturers and merchants it is noticeable that a section of the small master community were sufficiently hard pressed to take in lodgers. No comparison is offered for Edinburgh in regard to working-class households. But elsewhere Anderson and Armstrong have noted the high incidence of working-class households having lodgers in Preston and York.[45] On the whole the vast majority of the petite bourgeoisie were sufficiently well off to avoid the necessity of taking in a lodger. Neither was there any appreciable differences between the petit bourgeois groupings.

TABLE 8.18 INCIDENCE OF LODGERS AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS, 1851

	%
Manufacturer	2.4
Merchant	2.2
Merchant Retailer	11.8
Retailer	8.6
Craftsman Retailer	11.0
Craftsmen	7.7
Semi skilled	13.5
Transport	8.0
Agriculture	6.3

Source: 1851 Census Enumerator Books

Another facet of lodging was the contractual boarder, generally live-in apprentices, journeymen and shopmen. An indication of how far this was common practice by 1851 is indicated in table 8.19. Often the existence of such practices was tied to the work situation rather than the result of economic position. Baking, shoemaking, tailoring and retailing were areas where the practice of a live-in workforce was found in the nineteenth century.[46] Stereotyped images have long pictured the small master household as a self-contained working unit where journeyman and master lived and worked but by 1851 this was clearly not the case. Again the evidence suggests that only among one in ten of small master households did the practice continue. If this practice was on the decline then it was in part a demonstration of the greater relative wealth position of the small masters. But it also was consistent with a view of respectability that elevated the

family and established a more privatised existence. Moreover, greater wealth allowed for the petite bourgeoisie in many cases the separation of the work place from the family house.

TABLE 8.19 INCIDENCE OF CONTRACTUAL BOARDERS AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS, 1851

	%
Manufacturer	0.0
Merchant	5.5
Merchant Retailer	4.4
Retailer	9.0
Craftsman Retailer	10.0
Craftsmen	2.3
Semi-skilled	12.3
Transport	2.0
Agriculture	3.1

Source: 1851 Census Enumerator Books

The tendency towards a privatised existence was in part reflected in the growth of the nuclear family which in 1851 was the dominant form of household structure. However, there is a line of thinking that has pictured the petit bourgeois household as a kind of urban peasantry based on the notion of an extended family, encompassing a number of relatives in the structure, and where the individuals contribute to the family economy. Yet to what extent was this indeed a feature of small master life? Before examining the evidence relating to Edinburgh it is worth noting that Armstrong in his study of York in 1851 suggests that amongst small businessmen and the established middle-class there was a greater tendency to have kin residing in the household.[47]

Similarly, Crozier has demonstrated that 30 per cent of established middle-class households had resident kin.[48] Overall there is a suggestion that kin co-residence among these groups was consistent with their greater wealth, as well as factors such as the longevity of life and the requirements of the family economy. From table 8.20 it is clear that the extended family was not reflected in urban Edinburgh in the period 1851 among the small master community. Nonetheless between one in four or one in five households amongst the small masters did possess a relative. More detailed investigation indicates that it was generally only one relative that was present in the household. This apparent privatisation was the reflection of an intense value system built around notions of independent thought and action, which shaped the outlook and behaviour of many within the petite bourgeoisie. Again it partly reflected economic position which did not allow for the household maintenance of a relative(s).

TABLE 8.20 INCIDENCE OF KIN CO-RESIDENCE AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS, 1851

	%
Manufacturer	23.8
Merchant	17.6
Merchant Retailer	22.9
Retailer	25.0
Craftsman Retailer	21.4
Craftsmen	19.8
Semi-skilled	24.7
Transport	4.0
Agriculture	31.2

Source: 1851 Census Enumerator Books

Housing, featured by far as the greatest outward display of status and respectability. At the same time it was an important attribute of independence, not least because, for a large part of the century, it often determined the right of the franchise and guaranteed a measure of political independence. As one of the most expensive of commodities then the house featured as an important measure of status. In 1857 The Builder eagerly argued that the home was evidence of social standing:

> 'On the contrary, the desire for as good and attractive a home as can be obtained, the wish "to have things nice about one", is one of the evidences of a refined and cultivated nature, and one of the principal feelings which tend to keep up and to raise higher the standard of cultivation in everyday life.'[49]

In Edinburgh the typical residence was in the flatted tenement.[50] Neither were such residences the preserve of the working-classes. As Roger Cutlar noted in 1857 such residences might comprise 'in one floor all the conveniences requisite for a genteel family.'[51] As a result status was often measured in direct relation to the proximity of the ground. Earlier in the century Lindsay Makeroy, an Edinburgh accountant noted as much:

> I am now beginning to think of a house with a street door, a point of great importance in Edinburgh. There is in fact a scale in this matter nicely graduated, and people being estimated in inverse ratio of the height from the mother earth at which they have their domicile.[52]

The importance of an outward show of status was reflected in the constant need to change residence with an improvement in economic well-being. Chambers' Edinburgh Journal drew attention to such events in an article on 'Flitting Day'. It referred to the continuous movement in the housing market as families improved their economic well-being.[53] Typical of this process was Hugh Rose who began in business with a borrowed capital of two or three hundred pounds. From his petit bourgeois beginnings he was to become a leading merchant in Edinburgh and hold office as both Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, and Master of the Merchant Company. His success in the world was accompanied by a succession of removals to 'London Street, Haddington Place, Blenheim Place, Annandale Street, Windsor Street, and lastly, in 1856, to Hillside Crescent.'[54]

Yet it must mot be assumed that for the petite bourgeoisie as a whole, housing was an easy matter. Indeed it would appear that for much of the century there was a lack of suitable housing to accomodate the petite bourgeoisie; despite their wishes. James Bland Sutherland recollected that as far as his 'observations extended' the working-classes were relatively 'well housed as compared with the section of society immediately above them in social condition.'[55] In 1847 The Builder under a heading 'Want of Houses in Edinburgh' had argued:

> 'What are now required, are not the rapid erection of cheap and plain, but substantial erections in or near the outskirts of the city, old or new, for the middle-classes, and square or other blocks of cottages, in like localities, with open airy sites for the lower. [56]

Clearly there was a shortage of housing for the petite bourgeoisie and other social groups in the city. Coupled with shortage there is evidence to suggest some discrimination in residential areas against those with the taint of trade or industry. For example residents of George Square in the city were 'perpetually restrained from dealing in or the occupation of any trade or merchandise, whether foreign or inland, in wholesale or retail of goods'. Baking or brewing for sale was equally prohibited as was other handicrafts. The intention was to preserve George Square as a place of residence for the urban gentry and the professions.[57] To what extent such events may have been practised elsewhere and the length of their duration is difficult to assess.

The effect of the tenement, and indeed the general planning of housing development, in Edinburgh in the nineteenth century makes it difficult to pin point broad areas of residential segregation on social class lines. For status areas were identified most easily on a street for street basis. This was true of the New Town, the design of which, Gordon argues meant that 'these areas specifically incorporated streets of lower status houses thereby complicating

the overall assessment pattern.'[58] The spatial dimension of social class segregation as a result was narrower and confined sometimes to single streets. Though in itself this would continue to intensify social attitudes of status and respectability, such narrow boundaries ensured that status worlds based on residence were not as closed as they might have been elsewhere. In the toing and froing of everyday life social contact amongst strata was an inevitable result of the patterns of residence. Tenements might house different social groups down to the working-class cellar dwellers which complicated the pattern still further. The one broad demarcation that did exist, however, was the divide between the Old and New Town. With the building of the new, the old was to become a centre of residence for the working-classes together with a section of the petite bourgeoisie whose business interests, or the unavailability of suitable housing, kept them there. As early as 1825 it was possible to note:

> 'At present within the same bounds we hardly find a respectable family even of the middle-class, the best part of the old town inhabitants holding a kind of intermediate rank between the middle and lower classes, such as tailors, shoemakers and other tradesmen who may have a few men working under them, but even of these there are not enough, as some of the best old houses have to be subdivided so as to admit of the lowest kinds of tenants. We have still some first rate shops in the old town but these are gradually moving off to the northwards. [59]

Those small masters who remained in the Old Town colonised streets such as John Street and South Bridge before eventually moving to the suburbs or the New Town in the late nineteenth century.[60] The small masters were likely to inhabit a street with a varied social mix. There were some living on the fringes of the established middle-classes. W. Smith remembered Glenlyon Crescent in the New Town as a distinctly 'smart' locality. A person buying a house there felt he had 'arrived'. There were "few carriage folk", the residents comprising a mixture of professionals, army officers and small businessmen.[61] Similarly in Londsdale Terrace a number of tenement flats had as their occupants solicitors, higher clerical workers, as well as shopkeepers, businessmen, clerks, and commercial travellers.[62] In more distinctly working-class communities the petite bourgeoisie formed in some cases a social elite.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the commercial invasion of the city centre, together with the development of a suburban transport system, saw a gradual extension outwards of housing in the city. This process was further facilitated by the fact that Edinburgh in the period 1881 to 1901 acquired some 7,000 acres of additional land. This physical expansion of the city saw a somewhat greater trend towards broad areas of social class segregation. Districts like Marchmont were quickly colonised by the petite bourgeoisie together with the rapidly expanding

white-collar class. The area around Saughtonhall took a similar path, whilst Murrayfield, and certain areas in the district of Newington were planned to cater for the housing needs of the wealthy elite.[63]

Housing then was one of the most striking displays of status. In their efforts to enjoy living in pleasant surroundings the petite bourgeoisie were to the fore in spawning the building society movement.[64] For the petite bourgeoisie as a whole housing was not an easy matter. Many were forced to live within the working-class communities of Edinburgh. Only gradually towards the end of the century was there a move towards the suburbs and with it new patterns of residential segregation on status lines.

The evidence of this section points to a number of factors regarding the petite bourgeoisie. Firstly, there is the diversity of experience and life chances within the class. Whilst there can be little doubt that at the centre of their world was the concern for rising in the world, and recognition of that achievement, there was also an economic break which meant that their position on the status ladder was for the greater majority towards the bottom. In terms of servant holding the majority were possessed of no such luxury, yet the composition of the household suggests that they were in fact considerably better off than the working-class household. What their wealth and achievement did provide was greater independence of thought and action,

greater choice in the type of housing and voluntary association. They neither as a whole approached the comforts of the established middle-class but equally they were removed from the mass poverty, and intended to remain so down to the last black coat.

VOLUNTARY ORGANISATION

One way of examining social stratification in the wider society is to examine the involvement of social groups in voluntary associations. For as a measure of social prestige, or status, it is clear that occupation and wealth are by no means the sole criterion for determining social status. Moreover, an examination of voluntary association is one test of the openness or homogeneity of social relationships in society. By reference to a number of voluntary associations in nineteenth century Edinburgh it is possible to analyse what kind of people belonged to organisations, and who formed the leadership and office holders of such organisations.[65]

The study here is less concerned with the activities and historical development of voluntary associations, but more so with their social composition and the role, if any, played by the petite bourgeoisie.[66]

In this section a number of voluntary organisations are examined including those associated with charitable effort, the churches, militia protection societies, housing organisations, temperance and a number of leisure organisations.

The first area of investigation concerns those organisations that may be classified under the broad term charitable, including a number of educational associations. Seven organisations were examined covering the years 1832 to 1858. These institutions were functional beyond leisure time participation. Their inclusion was solely governed by the survival of extant material. They provide a generalised cross-section of charitable organisations in the city. Where other studies of nineteenth century voluntary associations have concentrated on examining the office-holders of such institutions,[67] it was felt here that in order to arrive at an understanding of the participation of petit bourgeois groups in such organisations a more detailed investigation of the social composition of the membership was needed. This was later justified when it was readily seen that the office-holders of these associations were almost exclusively drawn from the ranks of Edinburgh's urban elite. Membership and participation is here defined as payment of a subscription or donation. In theory these associations were subscriber democracies with an organisational structure of membership and committee meetings, and where the office-holders were accountable to the subscribers.[68] In practice the day to day control rested with the office-holders.

Table 8.21 presents a socio-economic analysis of the membership of the seven organisations. Where information on the occupations of the subscribers was not provided in the subscription lists, which happened in the majority of cases, the names and addresses of subscribers were checked against the Post Office Directories to determine occupational classification. In nineteenth century British society that was overtly concerned with status and respectability, such associations might allow individuals to demonstrate their status and social position, or aspirations to social respectability by taking part in these paternalist charitable institutions.[69] A grocer, for example, might put great store by having his name alongside Lord _____ on a published list of subscribers. However, what is abundantly clear is the extent to which the membership of these organisations revolved around the elite in Edinburgh and, in particular, the professions. A view that would see the petite bourgeoisie as status seeking individuals is not borne out by the evidence from this table. For example, of those subscribing to the School of Arts in 1853 some 58.2 per cent were from professional groups. By comparison those subscribers from the petit bourgeois groups numbered approximately 15 per cent; and this despite their numerical importance in the social structure of the city.

Table 8.21 Membership of Voluntary Associations : Subscribers

	Lying in Hospital 1832		Edinburgh Infant School Society (50% sample) 1832		Benevolent and Strangers Friendly Society 1832		Edinburgh/ Leith Humane Society Dispensing and Casualty Hospital 1841		School of Arts 1848		Society for the Relief of Destitute Sick (10% sample) 1853		Apprentice Schools Association 1858	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional	177	50.0	200	63.5	236	50.0	91	34.6	96	58.2	77	38.5	85	45.5
Manufacturer	5	1.4	6	1.9	11	2.3	8	3.0	6	3.6	6	3.0	4	2.1
Merchant	12	3.4	9	2.9	9	1.9	82	31.2	9	5.5	3	1.5	11	5.9
White-collar (2)	8	2.3	8	2.5	13	2.8	6	2.3	9	5.5	14	7.0	16	8.6
White-collar (1)	5	1.4	2	0.6	15	3.2	4	1.5	2	1.2	3	1.5	3	1.6
Merchant Retailer	12	3.4	5	1.6	10	2.1	29	11.0	8	4.8	8	4.0	12	6.4
Retailer	18	5.1	14	4.4	37	7.8	10	3.8	3	1.8	11	5.5	10	5.3
Craftsman/Retailer	17	4.8	8	2.5	27	5.7	6	2.3	6	3.6	9	4.5	9	4.8
Craftsmen	6	1.7	5	1.6	14	3.0	11	4.2	8	4.8	2	1.0	13	7.0
Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	1	0.2	2	0.8	-	-	1	0.5	1	0.5
Agriculture (1)	-	-	-	-	1	0.2	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transport (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.5	-	-
Not traced	94	26.6	58	18.4	98	20.8	13	4.9	18	10.9	65	32.5	23	12.3
	354	100.1	315	99.9	472	100.0	263	100.0	165	99.9	200	100.5	187	100.0

Source: See bibliography for reports of the organisations.

In some instances such differentiation may have been accounted for by the fact that some of these associations were under the aegis of particular religious denominations.[70] In otherwords a low level of petit bourgeois participation may have been accounted for by different religious patronage. However, even in those institutions that bore no mark of a particular religious denomination, for example, the School of Arts, petit bourgeois participation did not differ substantially from less utilitarian institutions.

From the evidence on voluntary associations it would appear that there was a small group of petit bourgeois who were prepared to accept the patronage of the bourgeoisie in these organisations. Possibly this group constituted the more wealthy among the small masters. However, the low participation in these voluntary associations stemmed from other factors not least the conscious ideology of the petite bourgeoisie. An ideology which rejected paternalism; and the concept of charitable patronage. For charitable patronage was in part used by the urban ruling class as one method of class control.[71] It functioned as one of a number of safety valves, and drew on the experiences of the eighteenth century gentry. It was the idea of patronage that was so questionable to the petite bourgeoisie in the first half of the nineteenth century. Particularly, as it ran counter to their conscious desire for, and belief in, independence. As Gray has argued the values of independence were in part historically derived from the eighteenth century culture of

small masters, small farmers, and self-employed artisans.[72] Such values continued to shape the outlook of the petite bourgeoisie. Patronage by the urban elite was identified as a source of political and economic power which was used to maintain elite domination at the expense of the aspirations of the petite bourgeoisie. To take part in the patronage game was nearly an acceptance of the power of the bourgeoisie. The petite bourgeoisie were opposed to middle-class domination. In addition paternalism cut across the individualistic notions of the small masters who looked to the moral independent salvation of the individual.

In short it would appear likely that any social contact with the social elite of Edinburgh through such voluntary associations amongst the petite bourgeoisie was confined to a small section and possibly those at the head of the formation in terms of wealth and political position.

A second area for examining social stratification and social relationships in the field of voluntary association was the churches. Moreover, church membership and church office-holding might confer status and respectability. The importance of religion in the world of the petite bourgeoisie has already been alluded to in the context of the close inter-relationship between religion and political life.[73] But what was the role of the small masters in the religious institutions themselves? Table 8.22 is

Table 8.22 Officers of Churches

Occupation of Officers	Church Canongate 1828 Trustees		Infirmary Street Church 1856 Trustees		The New North Church 1843 Kirk Session		1844 Deacons		Bristo Street Up Church 1804-87 Elders		1881 Kirk Session		St. Andrew's Church 1824-83 Elders		1884 Kirk Session		St. George's Free Church 1843-73 Elders		1843-77 Deacons	
Professional	-	-	-	-	7	53.8	2	20.0	10	11.6	2	10.0	39	72.2	15	75.0	50	56.2	39	35.5
Manufacturer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	2	1.8
Merchant	-	-	1	5.9	2	15.4	1	10.0	1	1.2	1	5.0	1	1.9	1	5.0	9	10.1	5	4.5
White-collar (2)	-	-	-	-	3	23.1	1	10.0	4	4.7	4	20.0	9	16.7	3	15.0	19	21.3	22	20.0
White-collar (1)	1	6.7	-	-	-	-	1	10.0	22	25.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7.9	16	14.5
Merchant-Retailers	-	-	2	11.8	-	-	-	-	4	4.7	1	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Retailers	3	20.0	7	41.2	-	-	4	40.0	19	22.0	5	25.0	2	3.7	-	-	-	-	6	5.4
Craftsman-Retailers	1	6.7	4	23.5	-	-	-	-	9	10.5	1	5.0	2	3.7	1	5.0	-	-	1	.9
Craftsmen	10	66.6	3	17.6	-	-	-	-	11	12.7	1	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.9
Semi-Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transport	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	-	-	1	1.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agriculture (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not traced	-	-	-	-	1	7.7	1	10.0	1	1.2	5	25.0	-	-	-	-	3	3.4	18	16.4
	15	100.0	17	100.0	13	100.0	10	100.0	86	100.1	20	100.0	54	100.1	20	100.0	89	100.0	110	99.9

Source: See bibliography for church histories and records.

an examination of the social composition of office-holders in a number of Non-Established religious organisations based on individual churches in the period 1828 through to 1887. In all, information on office-bearers was found for six churches, either for a single year, as in the case of Infirmary Street Church, or, as in the case of St. George's Free Church, for a specific period (1843-1877). What is most obvious in respect of office-holding is the extent to which different churches were either predominantly small master in numbers holding office, or professional and merchant groups allied with the higher white-collar groups. In the Canongate Church in 1828, and the Infirmary Street Church in 1856, over 90 per cent of office-bearers were recruited from the ranks of the small master community.[74] In contrast St. Andrew's Church situated in the New Town of Edinburgh recruited 72 per cent of its elders from the professional elite, and a further 16 per cent from the higher clerical groupings. Just over 10 per cent of the elders of St. Andrew's were from the petite bourgeoisie. Similarly the elders of St. George's, again situated in the prestigious New Town, were drawn overwhelmingly from the professions. For the New North Church in 1843 a similar pattern emerges. Only Bristo Street United Presbyterian Church presented a more stratified picture, but only partially so. Here the dominant groups were the small masters together with the lower white-collar workforce. In those churches that also listed their deacons there is some evidence to suggest that the petite bourgeoisie might occupy these less prestigious positions in church hierarchies. In

the New North Church 40 per cent of its deacons were from the small master community. In St. George's Free Church just under 10 per cent of its deacons were recruited from the small masters. This last figure has to be compared with the fact that no petit bourgeois succeeded to eldership.

From the evidence it would appear that there was an element of clear segregation of petit bourgeois and professional elite in the status accorded by office-holding in certain churches. An element of spatial and residential segregation along class lines was important in this respect. In the Old Town churches, particularly Infirmary Street, the leadership was recruited overwhelmingly from the small masters, and bears comparison with the New Town. At the level of church office-holding there is little to suggest that the petite bourgeoisie and the elite in Edinburgh society met and shared in the formal running of the churches.

Positions of leadership in the churches of course says little regarding the composition of the membership. Unfortunately at was not possible to collect information on church membership that co-incided with the evidence on office-holding. There was one exception St George's Free Church. Information regarding church membership participation was extracted from the seat rent books of a number of churches. These provided the names and addresses of those renting pews and these were checked against the Post Office Directories to determine occupational status.[75] Such

information does not provide an overall indicator of church membership. Yet when concerned with the question of status and the outward display of respectability seat renting was a demonstrative measure of such processes. Moreover, it was generally the poorer sections of the community, and not the petite bourgeoisie, who could not afford the rent.[76]

Information gathered from six churches at mid-century is presented in Table 8.23. Caution is required with regard to the large numbers of seat renters who remained untraced. It is probable that within this group many were of white-collar and skilled working-class background and whose employment status was not sufficient to register entry in the Post Office Directories. Nonetheless, the figures do demonstrate the strength of small master membership in the churches, though this must not be overstated. St George's Free Church, which had shown a marked proclivity towards the professions in the distribution of its office bearers, had only 12 per cent of its pews rented by groups from the the petite bourgeoisie. This reinforces the view that it might be correct to speak of different churches being differentiated on broadly social class lines. In the case of the Martyrs' Reformed Presbyterian Church and Arthur Street Church, there is a complete absence of participation by the wealthy groups in the city. In this case it seems clear that in certain churches the petite bourgeoisie took their positions at the top of the status table as determined by their ability and willingness to rent church pews. They

Table 8.23 Membership of Churches: Seatholders

	St. Mark's Unitarian Church 1847		St. John's Free Church (50% Sample) 1852		Martyrs' Reformed Presbyterian 1858		Arthur Street Church (50% Sample) 1863-1867		St. George's Free Church (33⅓% Sample) 1864-1866	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional	3	5.3	7	5.6	-	-	-	-	18	20.9
Manufacturer	3	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Merchant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
White-collar (2)	2	3.5	1	0.8	1	1.7	-	-	8	9.3
White-collar (1)	1	1.8	6	4.8	4	6.7	1	2.8	8	9.3
Merchant-Retailer	1	1.8	4	3.2	2	3.3	1	2.8	1	1.2
Retailer	6	10.5	10	8.1	3	5.0	1	2.8	4	4.6
Craftsman-Retailer	6	10.5	11	8.9	1	1.7	3	8.3	5	5.8
Craftsmen	7	12.3	7	5.6	7	11.7	1	2.8	1	1.2
Semi-Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agriculture (1)	-	-	1	0.8	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not Traced	28	49.1	77	62.1	42	70.0	29	80.5	41	47.8
	57	100.1	124	99.9	60	100.1	36	100.0	86	100.1

Source: As table 8.22.

took the social lead in a church community which at bottom was manifestly working-class in its composition. The evidence for Edinburgh is consistent with the view of McLeod for late-Victorian London that 'a man's church was a means of identifying his position in the status hierarchy sometimes even a conscious statement of that position'.[77] There was little contact within churches between the established middle-class and the petite bourgeoisie. However, there is a suggestion that the petite bourgeoisie formed the social leadership in religious communities whose composition was in the main working-class. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that the petite bourgeoisie together with white-collar strata formed or controlled their own church communities in late-Victorian Edinburgh.[78] Indeed the religious community was often at the centre of the petit bourgeois world.

Churches were, of course, more than mere institutions of religious worship. They were also a guide to social and moral behaviour and in addition acted as a base for the promotion of self-help groups and voluntary organisations whose focus in some way was linked to Christian activity. For those in solace a church might act as a substitute community. The petite bourgeoisie were involved in the activities of the churches, in some churches dominated by the established middle-class they were no more than a minority, but in other churches they undoubtedly played a leading role in both management and voluntary activity.

Success and survival in the world for the small master was largely dependent on the hard work and endeavour he brought to his business. His life chances were in this respect thought to be very much of his own making. It was in such a situation that religious adherence and practice might act as a guide to the moral behaviour needed to succeed. Moreover, religious institutions could offer solace and comfort as well as being a place where social relationships might be fostered. Though religion was of course a vehicle for the dissemination of dominant bourgeois values, albeit a diverse one, it was nonetheless possible, as Gray has correctly argued, for strata and groups to create their own sub-cultures within an otherwise dominant cultural form. It was clear that religious institutions could be shaped and characterised by the groups using them.[79] Yet for some individuals within the small master community religious adherence offered first and foremost a code of moral behaviour to ensure success in life. Hugh Rose after serving an apprenticeship as a hop merchant left to pursue his own fortune. During this time Rose liked to visit a spot on Arthur's Seat, a volcanic rock in the city, where he would go for "quiet prayer for direction'. He felt that in business his 'one safeguard was to lay down laws for himself, and, by the help of God, to keep them . . . . One of these was never to play for money, not even for the smallest coin; another was never to take more than a single tumbler of toddy'. Both he and his wife refused to do business on a Sunday,

taking on that day an active part in Elder Street Baptist Church, where he was to serve as a Deacon for some fifty-four years. For the Roses' however, such was the close affiliation between the world of business and the church that their absorption in the interests of the church was like 'making a business of their church membership'.[80]

The affinity of business and church life was often singled out for special mention. In his funeral sermon on the death of James McLaren a merchant in the city Dr. Alexander, minister, spoke of McLaren as an:

> excellent specimen of one of the best classes in the community - that of the Christian Merchant . . . . His idea was that religion was not merely for the closet and the sanctuary, but for all times, all places, all occupations, whilst he knew that God would work no miracle for him or make his business prosper without, thought, effort and prudence on his part, he believed that without the blessing of God on his exertions he never could succeed.[81]

If religious adherence helped strengthen the character of those in business it also assumed anawesome importance in the life of some petit bourgeois families. James Hay, after serving his apprenticeship in Edinburgh, started a saddlery business in nearby Musselburgh. The business did not do too well and he returned to Edinburgh to open a saddlery shop in George Street with his brother. After two years Hay took over the firm of J. H. Rogers which remained in the family until his death. During this time he was active in the United Free Church, served as an Elder

in St. Luke's Church, Queen Street, and for a time was Superintendant of the Sunday School at Roxburgh Church. For the Hay children the religious life of their father was the focal point of much of family life. As Isabella Hay remembers they 'were never allowed to stay away from church and he always had worship at home when we were expected to repeat psalms or hymns and a text and listen to a Bible story, etc.'[82] James Glass reflecting on his own childhood in the second half of the nineteenth century summed up the religious environment in these terms 'Scotch bairns used to be brought up on porridge and milk, which nourished their bodies, and on the shorter catechism which starved their minds.' He remembered fights between his young friends over 'Infant Baptism', 'Election and Predestination', doctrinal disputes which they did not understand. In particular he remembered Sunday as a day when 'picture books, games, laughter and whistling were "tabooed".[83]

Outwith the purely religious sphere churches offered more material and cultural benefits than the purely spiritual. They were a source of business contacts.[84] But more often they were for the petite bourgeoisie a source of cultural and educational provision. Typical was the provision offered by Mayfield Free Church, this included: Young Men's Christian Association; Young Women's Christian Association; Minister's Bible class; Minister's Friday Class for Young People; Dorcas Society (which sold

second-hand clothes); Women's Foreign Missionary Society; Musical Association; Choir; Junior Association; Abstinence Society; Buccleuch Street Mission; Gospel Temperance Tea Meeting; Band of Hope; Mothers' Meeting; Senior Girls' Class; Senior Boys' Class; Girls' Club; Handicraft Class; and Boys' Brigade.[85] Neither was Mayfield Free Church exceptional in this respect.[86]

These associations fostered in the churches were not always the result of the motives of the church hierarchies; some no doubt were. But others were the result of the spontaneous desire of the petite bourgeoisie and other groups and strata to initiate a programme of cultural activities that was consistent with a view of the world that prized respectability and moral uprightness. Among the most popular of associations was the Young Mens' Mutual Improvement Society. Typical was the society formed in December 1848 by the young men attending the Bible class of John Gifford. The aim of the membership was to improve their moral, religious and intellectual improvement, through essays, debates, reviews, readings and recitations.[87] This society remained a feature of many churches throughout the century. St. David's Free Church Mutual Improvement Association produced a journal, The Lantern, the single handwritten copy of which was circulated amongst the membership. Members contributed articles, essays, stories and poems. One essay in particular with the title 'Industry' reflected the concern for success and achievement in the wider society:

> 'Who are the men of business in the country who have prospered and in many cases risen from almost beggary to a position of affluence and wealth? Are they not the men who have exercised a personal superintendance over their business, men who have come into personal contact with every detail of the working of their business, men in fact who possess an energy, uprightness and steadiness of purpose which it would be well if more were imbued with the same spirit. These are the men we should seek to imitate and not those who instead of attending to business are to be found on the race-course in the billiard room or such like.'[88]

These were the characteristics that young business men were to aspire to if success was to be achieved.

Church congregations were themselves an important area for the cementing of social relationships. In a world that for many small masters was characterised by work, the church provided a welcome alternative. Robert Balmain remembered that the congregation of Clyde Street Hall had to 'learn their livelihood by close application to their various callings', hours of labour were long, leaving little time for social gathering during the week. Sunday was something of a respite and 'it was by no means unusual to have a goodly number of the church folks to a social cup of tea, and several of the brethern were noted for the abundance of good cheer on their tables on those friendly reunions.'[89]

Church communities could provide a close knit world of friendship and social contact for the individual whose life situation was otherwise constrained by factors making for a privatised existence. On the occasion of a split

in the Clyde Street Hall congregation over the doctrinal issue of open communion, Balmain felt saddened by the future absence of so many well-known faces. From then on 'the place did not seem the same.'[90]

Churches were used by the petite bourgeoisie together with other strata to provide a series of services and institutions. Neither was this simply the acceptance of values fostered by bourgeois ideology. For the small masters sought to control their own churches and with this to maintain their status, respectability but more important their independence.

On one level the concern for moral respectability can be seen as reflecting the fear of falling into the world of poverty and uncertainty associated with wage-labour. The first half of the nineteenth century had been characterised by the evangelising mission of the churches. Such efforts had failed to reach the masses but, had won the petite bourgeoisie and other intermediate groups, to the extent that many churches became the refuge of the small masters. Nonetheless, attempts to convert the working classes continued. In 1873, the Annual Report of St. Andrew's Episicopal Church, situated in the heart of the working-class Old Town declared that:

> the young men must be instructed in secular and religious knowledge in day and Sunday Schools, and Young Men's Associations are requisite; the wives of working men must be strengthened in

> arduous toils at mothers' meetings, and all improved by library and savings bank.'[91]

Again within the Old Town The Cowgate Mission instituted a savings fund 'with the view of encouraging the people into habits of thrift, and fostering a spirit of independence, self-denial, and economy'.[92]

Noticeable here is the emphasis on the individual which must have given credence to the already held belief of the petite bourgeoisie as to the strength and necessity of the individual in society. Individualism meant making one's own way in the harsh realities of the world and it was an easy step to then focus on the individual as the cause of his or her own problems. James Goodfellow declared as much when he described the missionary effort of his follow churchmen. In attempting to account for much of the poverty that existed he was to write 'much of the poverty was the result of laziness or vice.'[93] Emphasis had shifted from attempts to reclaim the masses for God to the individual and his immediate family; for 'in the beginning, God constituted home the birthplace and nursery of faith and virtue. He made it the first sanctuary - family tent, the first tabernacle . . . . God has arranged the place and work of home; it is there, in the little circle, that nature and grace combine to favour the growth of all that is true and beautiful and good.'[94] Independence amongst individuals was welcomed, and amongst the poor it

was 'very gratifying to fall in with cases where a spirit of indepencence is still manifested."[95] The emphasis on reclaiming the individual in part accounted for the growth of the family visitor in the second half of the century as a common method of missionary effort.[96] A report to the Bristo Street United Presbyterian Congregation noted in 1884 that as a result of the efforts on the Home Mission twelve persons in the district had joined the church.[97] Recruitment to the fold was measured by the very few rather than the many.

Emphasis was increasingly placed on the moral salvation of the individual and it is something with which the petite bourgeoisie would concur. The small master alone might feel that he was responsible, through God, for making or breaking his life chances, and those of his family. Moral uprightness assumed greater proportions for the class. It was seen above that Hugh Rose refused to gamble, afraid of the consequences of losing and incurring a debt, and fearing the effect that this might have had on his prospects in the world. In addition the church appeared to offer a safe community and gathering where social pastimes might be entered which did not threaten the need for moral uprightness. Alternatives to the churches did of course exist, and in the area of leisure the public house for much of the Victorian period was a fertile host. To what extent the petite bourgeoisie were involved in that culture is not easily ascertained. What is certain is

that the church was under attack in the latter decades of the nineteenth century from, as Yeo notes, Labour, the growth of welfare provision and new developments in leisure.[98] Contemporaries in Edinburgh were certainly not aware of the changes and there effects on the churches beyond the fact that recruitment had always been a difficult task. For the petite bourgeoisie there is little to suggest that they understood that the churches or organisations they belonged to were in crisis, as Yeo argues, and as such nothing to suggest that they altered their behaviour in any way during the late Victorian period.[99]

For the petite bourgeoisie churches were a place to demonstrate religious faith, a place of justification of values associated with moral uprightness, a place of respectability and recognition of status and a place of organisation and voluntary social activity. The petite bourgeoisie were attracted to, and played an active part in churches. What is clear, however, is that the churches were fairly stratified affairs. Structured on class lines with perceived status difference, the petite bourgeoisie were not found, and often did not want to be, participating in churches where control and membership was of the established middle-class. Instead in late Victorian Edinburgh we find the petite bourgeoisie forming the social and religious leadership in churches that were predominantly working-class in membership; or forming part of the leadership where the membership was drawn from their own class and the ranks of the white-collar strata.

Apart from the petit bourgeois traders' organisation, there were few institutions of a social and self help nature that ware wholly composed of small masters, for there was no cultural vacuum in which the small masters found themselves. Coming between capital and labour theirs was a world of shared cultures. Yet they were able to adopt the ideas and values that were in keeping with their lifestyles and aspirations. They built around them the values of independence and the moral respectability, that complimented such independence. When that lifestyle was threatened the petite bourgeoisie were capable nonetheless, of organising to protect themselves. One example of this was clearly demonstrated in the conscription question. In the first half of the nineteenth century conscription into the militia was a distinct possibility for all social groups, except those of wealth and connection who could avoid it if they chose by buying their way out. Clearly there were implications for the petite bourgeoisie, not least, the point that for many the success of their businesses rested on their own abilities and management. To be absent from business for any length of time was likely to incur financial ruin. Given this situation, the petite bourgeoisie took the lead in forming militia protection societies.

In 1831 The Original Militia Society of Edinburgh was founded for the purpose of protecting its members from personally serving in the Scots Militia. This could be achieved by means of either providing a substitute for any

of the members of the society who might be called to enlist, or by paying the penalty specified by Act of Parliament. The society was to last for five years with membership dues set at 'seven shillings of entry-money, sixpence for acticles and two shillings quarterly per advance.'[100] Again in 1846 as a result of Government plans to raise a militia force a similar organisation was founded in the city - The Militia Protection Society. The first meeting was held in the house of Mr. John Mushet, grocer. Once more the object was to prevent members serving personally, and on 'the most economical principle consistent with safety'. Mushet with experience of such organisation reckoned that a deposit of 10 shillings by each member would suffice. It was noted that between two and three hundred had already enrolled and 'there could be little doubt that a fund would be created amply sufficient to secure the objects of the Institution'. From table 8.24 it is clear that the office bearers of the society were from the small master community.[101]

Table 8.24 Occupational Breakdown of Office Bearers of the Militia Protection Society: 1846

Grocer (2)	Baker (2)	Tailor and Clothier	Bell Hanger
Upholsterer (3)	Perfumer	Wine & Spirit Merchant	Bookseller
Carver	Draper (2)	Printer	Seal Engraver
Doctor	Carrier	Bootmaker	Not Known (2)
Solicitor	Butcher	Shawl Manufacturer	

Source: The Scotsman, January 31st, 1846;
Edinburgh Post Office Directory 1846-47.

This was a particularly good example of co-operation initiated by the petite bourgeoisie for their own ends.

The activities of the petite bourgeoisie with the Militia Protection Societies was an example of the contradiction between the image of the stark individualism and the reality of organisations to promote the security of the individual. However, if in hindsight there appears to be a contradiction contemporaries were almost certainly not aware of it. Moreover, it might be argued that the sole purpose of many institutions was the protection of the individual whether it be from conscription, to promote his housing and educational interests, or to protect him from the temptation and possibly damaging effects of alcohol.

Some of the more important self-help institutions of the nineteenth century were the Mechanics' Institutes. In Edinburgh, from the beginning, control of the Edinburgh School of Arts lay with the established ruling classes.[102] Bourgeois control was again reinforced when in 1848 the Secretary of the School was to state that the object of the directors was to select their numbers from those gentlemen who were at 'the head of large establishments' or who had been beneficiaries to the school.[103] From the outset a proportion of the students were small masters. The Annual Report of 1822 noted that 'many of the master mechanics had become subscribers, for the sake of attending the lectures; and it was therefore necessary to provide

for their accommodation, for it was considered that their presence among their own workmen would be attended with very good effects'[104] The master tradesmen of the United Incorporations of St. Mary's Chapel felt it 'incumbent on them to testify their approbation' of the school, and promised their support and encouragement.[105] Such institutions in the early years were then not without backing amongst the small masters. From the information in table 8.21 however by 1848 few petit bourgeois supported the organisation by subscription.

An offshoot of the School of Arts was the Mechanic's Subscription Library which was started in 1825. By 1839 there was currently then 793 members who were classified as follows: 'Mechanics properly so called, 444; clerks shopmen etc. 228; master tradesmen 82; no profession specified 30; females 9.'[106] Master tradesmen accounted for around 10 per cent of the subscribers to the library. Part of the appeal of the library, beyond the borrowing of books, for the working-classes and the small masters lay in the democratic nature of the institution. Whereby 'in the popular constitution of the society, by which every member may aspire to a voice in its direction; and every step of consequence is submitted for the sanction of the general body.'[107] Freedom from middle-class patronage was for some in the petite bourgeoisie a condition of participation in voluntary associations as it was in religious bodies. It went hand in hand with the belief in independence.

Moreover, education, of which the library was part, was a plank in the platform of petit bourgeois radicalism. Education was the cement intended to hold together the structure of petit bourgeois democracy.[108]

Views of independence might, however, conflict with more material aspirations. An organisation like the Edinburgh School of Arts might act as a vehicle towards social and economic advance. Duncan McLaren was an obvious example. Rising from small beginnings he became a successful merchant in the city and for a time was to represent it as member of Parliament. McLaren was an early student of the School of Arts, and whilst there Lord Henry Cockburn was to write of him 'no doubt that with his excellent habits of arrangement and business, of good manners, science, and whiggism, he will in time greatly raise the character and zeal of our merchants and tradesmen.'[109] McLaren was portrayed as an example to others of similar standing, who might take advantage of the self-help institutions. Institutions, which in the words of John Murray, advocate, would allow:

> any artisan possessing superior talents was furnished with the means requisite for their development; he had opened to him the road to the highest distinction which might be attained by any individual, and under propitious circumstances might look forward to becoming as great and as well known to the world and to posterity as the late Mr. Watt himself. 110

For a group such as the small masters this type of proclamation might assume even greater significance than it did for the working-class artisan. Dr. Chalmers was to point out that self-help had boundaries and 'there is positively as little room for them all in the high places of our own society as there is among the clerkships of India for all the members of the Hindo population".[111] Yet surely such boundaries did not apply to the small masters who had already climbed a number of rungs on the ladder to success. Self-help had greater ideological significance for the petite bourgeoisie than it did for the working-class.[112] To what extent the acceptance and participation in self-help institutions meant the adherence to the concomitant Bourgeois ideology is a matter for consideration. There is little doubt as to the underlying aims of such institutions. The Reverend Bennie addressing the subscribers to the Mechanics Library in 1839 caught the prevailing wind of thought:

> 'What is the cause of the turbulance of the people, of their resistance to the laws of the land - of their invasion of the social rights of others? Is not the answer to be found in their ignorance? (cheers). Instruct the people, therefore, enlighten them, and these effects will cease. The subject of political economy ought especially to be embraced in the education of the people, as it lies at the root of all social order."[113]

To what extent the petite bourgeoisie accepted the dominant class values expressed in much of the current political and economic thought cannot readily be answered. Certainly, large numbers of the petite bourgeoisie had demonstrated

their rejection through an artisanal solidarity by joining, and giving a lead to, working men and women in the Chartist Movement. This reflected their opposition to the emerging capitalist order. Yet if anything the petite bourgeoisie were a chameleon like group, capable of absorbing only so much of the values and ideology that suited their particular outlook and their lifestyles. Caught between capital and labour it was not surprising that they were enabled to shift the focus of their interests in this manner. It was this process of adaptation and accommodation which characterised the political and ideological world of the petite bourgeoisie.

The propensity for co-operation amongst the small masters was particularly evident in the area of housing. To overcome the problem of their own housing individual small masters might have been wealthy enough to employ a builder to meet his requirements. Far more likely, however, was that the finance required was beyond the reach of many small masters. As a result the petite bourgeoisie spawned one of the most successful of co-operative ventures, namely, the building society movement. This movement is not to be located solely amongst the labour aristocracy but as Cleary argues 'from the beginning small traders and manufacturers played a prominent part'.[114]

In Edinburgh the petite bourgeoisie, anxious to escape the intolerable conditions of much of the City's housing

stock at mid-century, particularly that existing in the Old Town, were active in co-operating with one another to improve their living environment. They wished to escape from the conditions described by the Metropolitan Building Association in 1862:

> 'It is a fact well known to all who are acquainted with the condition of Edinburgh, that the houses which at present exist in the city, of a class such as may be rented at from £5 to £15 per annum, are very inadequate to meet the demand for that description of property, and that a large proportion of the dwellings for which such rents are at present paid . . . in many cases are quite unfit for human habitation.[115]

In the process differentiation from the working-classes followed.

Surviving evidence suggests that in Edinburgh the building societies were more likely to be of the non-terminating type, allowing investors a return on their capital as well as the funds to purchase a property. The Edinburgh Property Investment Company was founded in 1846 with shares issued at £25 each. The main purpose of the company, declared by the prospectus was 'parties . . . are enabled to purchase Heritable property by means of loans from the Company's capital, which loans are made repayable in so easy and gradual a manner.'[116] A similar venture was the Edinburgh Friendly Property Investment Company, established in 1849, again for the purpose of home ownership.[117] As well as offering a convenient and economical method of house purchase these early societies were also a source of

investment and savings. Not only were the petite bourgeoisie attracted to these institutions, they were instrumental in setting them up. This is clear from table 8.25 which analyses the occupational background of the directors of the two institutions. The distinct feature is the number of small masters. Business acumen on the part of the petite bourgeoisie contributed to the success of the building society movement. Nonetheless the overall contribution to housing stock was probably small in the case of the above institutions.

Once again the activities of the petite bourgeoisie in the building society movement points to an apparent contradiction within the values of self-help and the reality of having to join together to promote similar interests.

Table 8.25 Occupations of Directors of two Property Investment Companies

Edinburgh Property Investment Company 1846	Edinburgh Friendly Property Investment Company, 1851
Stationer	Bookseller
Hatter (2)	Plasterer
Brassfounder	Painter
Iron Merchant	Upholsterer
Draper	Flesher
Printer	Clothier (3)
Bootmaker	Bootmaker
Wright	Plumber
Engraver	Builder
Lace Merchant	Accountant
Teacher	Solicitor
Dentist	Not Known (3)
Gentleman	
Not Known (1)	

Source: The Scotsman; Edinburgh Post Office Directories

The importance of moral integrity and respectability for the petite bourgeoisie was again evident from their voluntary participation in temperance.

In his work on drink and the temperance movement in Scotland, Paton wrote of a 'third category' coming between the established middle and working-classes, who were 'more abstemious in the use of alcohol than the middle-class.' In defining this group he added that it contained men 'who had greater opportunities for independence, respectability and a degree of social mobility than the majority of working men but were sufficiently close to their standards of life for these opportunities to be threatened by alcohol.'[118] In part Paton was referring to the petite bourgeoisie whose way of life was essentially based on the efforts of the individual in working in and owning a small enterprise.

Fear of sinking into the mass ranks of poverty was a motivator influencing the abstemious practices and values of the small masters. In 1832 Chambers Edinburgh Journal made the point:

> The industrious classes of the middle rank are, on the one hand, attracted onwards to wealth and respectability, by contemplating men, formerly of their own order, who having as the saying is, feathered their nests, now lie at ease . . . while they are on the other hand repelled from the regions of poverty and disgrace by the sight of a great many wretched persons, who having, under the influence of some unhappy star, permitted their good revolution of industry and honour to give way . . . and now life if living it can be called in a state of misery and ignominy almost too painful to be thought of. [119]

Whereas the established middle-classes permitted themselves the pleasure of drinking in their own homes,[120] hence preserving an example to the working-classes, the petite bourgeoisie's abstemious practices were a condition of their way of life. The same article in Chambers recounted its own parable of a seed-shop owner who was 'not a man of correct or temperate conduct'. The man in question was in the habit of drinking in the forenoon from a tavern opposite his shop. He was, of course, soon to lose his business, providing the moral that 'as no qualities will succeed in business unless perfectly good conduct be among the number, and above all things an abstinence from tippling;' and unless heeded the inevitable would result. In this case the 'victim' disappeared amongst the shadows of the Old Town.[121]

Chambers Edinburgh Journal, took a clear lead in disseminating a code of conduct that espoused notions of respectability. In part this moralising propaganda was aimed at the petite bourgeoisie, who found such beliefs confirmed their own ideas of independence. The growth of the temperance movement found a recruiting ground amongst employers large or small. In particular they were asked by the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society to testify to the worth of abstinence and to encourage their workforce to take and keep the pledge.[122] The small masters as parents, employers of labour and landlords were asked to play their part in helping with the task of moral improvement and especially in opposing the 'increase of drinking houses.'[123]

Alternative and respectable entertainments to the pub provided the petite bourgeoisie, that is those who had taken the pledge, with avenues of social contact that were on a respectable footing. Temperance organisations organised soirees of a light beveridge nature. The Scotsman for January 4, 1845 carried a report of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society's evening which was attended by some 1400 people.[124] The British League of Juvenile Abstainers in Edinburgh held weekly meetings for young men, young women and children. In addition it ran six apprentice schools with over 300 students.[125] Hugh Rose, had been one of the original promoters of the British Public House Company. Which had a number of premises in the busiest parts of Edinburgh. These provided tea, coffee, cocoa and mineral waters, in comfortable surroundings where men could relax 'without debasing themselves'. Nonetheless, there was an element of 5 per cent philanthropy in this particular venture for the firm manufactured its own drinks and shareholders were paid a 'fair' dividend.[126] In this sense temperance was as much an opportunity to take part in social gatherings as it was an opposition movement to intoxicating liquor.

Economic arguments were also advanced by temperance advocates to win the support of the small masters to the movement. Duncan McLaren had argued that licensing reform saved the ratepayers of Edinburgh the expense of building a new prison.[127] The need for economy could also be allied

to the demands of petit bourgeois radicalism. Indeed there was a close afinity between temperance and radicalism. The political aims of the petite bourgeoisie at least in the first half of the nineteenth century were consistently based on the moral worth and independence of the small masters. Temperance might assume a demonstration of moral superiority against a profligate aristocracy who were identified as the ruling class. David Lewis, who was to the fore in petit bourgeois politics in the second-half of the century, was also a leading figure in the temperance movement, writing and speaking publicly on the subject. Lewis combined the moral respectability of the movement with the economic considerations of the small masters. Linking the drink question to poverty, and the burden on the poor rates, he championed the cause of the small masters faced by a situation whereby 'the great bulk of the taxation falls upon those less able to bear it while the more able escape'.[128]

Though temperance the petite bourgeoisie demonstrated their close social relationships with that section of the working-class that historians have called the labour aristocracy. Similarly in a number of recreational activities the petite bourgeoisie freely mixed with white-collar groups, and the better-off working-class.[129] What is clear, however, is that certain recreational clubs owed their origins to individuals from the petite bourgeoisie who formed and in some cases continued to dominate those clubs. One such

club was the Edinburgh Bowling Club. It was formed in 1848. Nine inaugural members each paid 2s 6d entry money, and at that time membership was limited to twenty individuals. Of the nine, six were from the small master community whose occupations comprised: a baker, grocer, bowmaker, painter and japanner, engraver, and tailor; surveyor, journalist and occupation unknown were the backgrounds of the other three.[130] A sample of the occupational backgrounds of new members joining the club in the period 1848 to 1899 demonstrates the preponderance of the small masters in this club and is illustrated in table 8.26. The petit bourgeois groups the Merchant Retailers, Retailers, Producer Retailers and Craftsmen accounted for over 49 per cent of those joining the club. The white-collar workforce together with the 'unknowns' were of considerable importance also. It is likely that those occupations that could not be traced were of a type comprising lower clerical and journeymen status.

Table 8.26 Occupational Background of members joining the Edinburgh Bowling Club; 1848-1899

Occupation	No.	%
Professional	3	3.2
Manufacturer	1	1.1
Whitecollar (2)	4	4.3
Whitecollar (1)	14	15.1
Merchant Retailer	9	9.7
Retailer	14	15.1
Retail Producer	10	10.7
Craftsmen	13	13.9
Unknown	25	26.9
	93	100.0

Source: Minutes of the Edinburgh Bowling Club, Vol 1. Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directories (1848 to 1899).

In the area of recreational activity the small masters were likely to meet on a social level with white-collar and skilled tradesmen groups. In some institutions, notably the Edinburgh Bowling Club they appeared to dominate. Moreover, under the auspices of various trade associations, socialising went on to an extent that excluded other social groups.[131]

There was limited contact between the petite bourgeoisie and Edinburgh's elite society. What did go on took place in what might be termed public institutions such as the churches. But there was a private world which was created to preserve the closed society of wealth in Edinburgh. For there were clubs in the city which opened their membership only to those of rank and wealth. A perusal of the membership list of the 'New Club' in 1839 would even tend to suggest that the industrial bourgeoisie of Edinburgh most notably the printers were excluded from membership.[132] Similarly the membership of the Edinburgh Evening Club in the last quarter of the century was built on a social exclusivity from which the petite bourgeoisie was debarred. The members here were drawn from the professions together with a few of the town's leading industrialists.[133] There were, moreover, institutions of a more economic nature which nevertheless also functioned as social institutions. The most important was the Edinburgh Merchant Company. Membership of which carried certain privileges as regards access to the town's leading

educational establishments. In 1871 the Company was reported to be in a highly prosperous condition with 'upwards of three hundred leading merchants, bankers, and traders in Edinburgh and Leith . . . members.' The entry money varied between £145 and £200 depending on the age of the applicant, which allowed members to participate in a generous benefit scheme.[134]

For the petite bourgeoisie the world between capital and labour was one of contradiction and adjustment. There was within the class a dominant ideology encompassing notions of independence and individualism. Yet this did not preclude collective notions of self-help. Individualism was an outlook much publicised by the established middle-class. Collective self-help, a practice undertaken by many working-class communities and groups. The petite bourgeoisie steered a path between the two. Hence their espousal of independence and individualism, but also their collective involvement in militia protection societies, building societies and temperance.[135]

The material condition of the small masters severely circumscribed the role they played in nineteenth century Edinburgh. In terms of wealth their position was marginal to that of the established middle-class and closer to the white-collar strata and skilled working-class. The stereotyped image of frequent upward mobility for small masters was no more than an image. Neither was such mobility -

forthcoming for sons or daughters either through accumulation of wealth or marriage. The important features of petit bourgeois social relationships lay in the close association with the skilled working-class community, and the community of white-collar workers. The petit bourgeois family was important as an agent of reproduction in ensuring that sons become small masters. In marriage contact remained either within the class or with the skilled working-class and lower white-collar strata. Contact with the established middle-class through marriage was again marginal. This evidence, in part, substantiates the assumptions of Gray and Crossick on the labour aristocracy's marriage contact with the petite bourgeoisie.[136]

The small master valued his independence of thought and action. He espoused the cause of individualism, yet saw little contradiction in collective mutual self-help. Independence from actual wage labour rather than material advance was the lot of many. Independence in reality was severely circumscribed to become a purely nominal state. Becoming a small master conferred status and respectability, however. And through involvement in church life and voluntary associations many sought to confirm that respectability. The status of the individual, individual salvation, reinforced the pre-conceived and already held views of independence, where behaviour in the world was seen as a precondition of economic well-being.

CHAPTER IX

BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOUR

The overall intention of this thesis has been to examine aspects of the contribution made by the petite bourgeoisie to the economic, political and social structures and relationships of Victorian Edinburgh. The existence of the petite bourgeoisie and the ideology of the class has often lacked definition. The role played by the class in the social formation has all too often been ignored. By concentrating activity on Edinburgh questions remain as to how typical or representative the findings here apply to developments in other towns and cities. Certainly Edinburgh was possibly unique in the nature of its urban elite, so dominated by the professions. Conflict between this elite, and the small masters was more evident in political and social institutions. Conflict between an industrial bourgeoisie and small producers was less evident, reflecting the very economic structure of the town that saw the persistence of small master production.

The persistence of the petite bourgeoisie in Victorian society has been at the centre of this study. But the tenuous survival of the class has been examined against the growth and development of the Victorian economy. And whilst the class continued to reproduce itself and increase in number, it did so in circumstances that did little to justify the many claims for independence made on behalf of the class. Existence was ridden with instability. For the many who set up as small masters the problem was not getting there; but remaining. And for those that did remain, the majority were subordinate to large capital through outwork, credit, materials, sub-contract and finance. Independence was more nominal than real. Yet the fact that small masters retained their appearance as small employers of labour confused the issues confronting them, not only in their relationships with large capitalists, but with the working class too.

This study has concentrated upon exploring the activities of the petite bourgeoisie, has attempted to identify the values and ideology of the class, has attempted to examine its relationships with other classes and strata. That ideology espoused concern for status and a concomitant independence. In everyday social relationships the class associated in voluntary organisation and marriage with those closest to them, particularly the white-collar strata but more important and significant with the labour aristocracy. There was no single homogeneity of class

ideology. Instead their values were an amalgum of prevailing ideologies adopted from the two major classes of the Victorian period, combined with at times an identifiable political and economic consciousness built around the needs of small property. In chameleon like fashion small masters adapted and accommodated to change. In contrast they produced in the second half of the century no mass movement of opposition in defence of economic grievances, and little that resembled a singular class ideology.

In Edinburgh the petite bourgeoisie was marked by its instability of membership. Yet it maintained itself through a constant process of recruitment. Evidence from the marriage registers on inter-generational occupational change reveals the importance of the petit bourgeois family in reproducing its sons as petit bourgeois and of the importance of the skilled working-class as the other main source of recruitment to the small master class. The petit bourgeois family as economic unit was important as a provider of the finances necessary to commence in business. The links with the skilled working-class is one that is met again and again particularly in the marriage relationship. More detailed investigation of these links is beyond the scope of this study. But if the process of social and class formation is to be more fully understood further research is needed.[1]

Previous research has concentrated on locating the petite bourgeoisie all too often in the area of political experience. This study has attempted to examine the historical experience of the class against the process of economic and social development as well as politics and ideology.

Small master enterprise was both stimulated, retarded and eroded by the process of industrialisation and urbanisation. In shopkeeping as a whole small traders expanded throughout the nineteenth-century in Edinburgh and elsewhere. Despite the rise of large-scale developments in retailing small shopkeepers maintained their, in many cases uneasy, existence. But all this was accompanied by change in the nature of economic relationships in retailing where small masters were subordinate to the interests of large capital.

In manufacturing, again stimulation, retardation and erosion of small master production through the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation was evident. Here the process was often more complex both within and across trades. Low levels of technological development left many workshop trades untouched in the nineteenth-century and in some areas workshop production expanded. However, merchant capital played an over arching and centralising role in subordinating the many small master productive units under its control leaving the small masters in

nominal control only. Even where the factory had established firm roots in an industry as in the Edinburgh example of printing, small master production maintained a tenuous co-existence.

The small master producer and retailer continued as important features of the economy and society of Edinburgh. The absence of an industrial bourgeoisie in any preponderent numbers was an important feature of the social and economic structure. The importance of the petite bourgeoisie, along with some small capitalists, in the social and class structure was accordingly greater. As a result, it was through the small master community that much of class struggle was therefore articulated. Though ultimately the game and rules of struggle might be made elsewhere, the petite bourgeoisie held the positions of immediate power. In a number of respects they were the non-commissioned officers of capitalism mediating between, and giving force to the struggle between, capital and labour.

Reassessment and analysis of the contribution of the petite bourgeoisie in class struggle is surely needed. Particularly in its relations with the working-class. Anderson's comment that the 'protracted hiatus in the development of the labour movement between the 1840s and the 1880s is to be partly explained by the length and hesitancy of the transition between workshop and factory as model types of industrial organisation in England,'[2]

along with the views of Stedman Jones that a 're-making' of the working-class occurred between 1870 and 1900,[3] point to the importance of the workshop and by implication the small masters in class struggle. The working-class was born, not in the factory, but the workshop. For a large part of the nineteenth century it was the small masters, who, for many, constituted the employing class. They filled the void in the absence of an industrial bourgeoisie. Nowhere was this perhaps more true than in the city of Edinburgh. It is tempting to speculate that the petite bourgeoisie contributed to making Edinburgh the city par excellence of 'quietism' in the late nineteenth-century to the extent that the town never approached rivalling Glasgow as a city of open class conflict and struggle.

Small masters engaged in the producing trades formed no associations promoting their interests in nineteenth-century Edinburgh. Yet they did appear to engage in the more heterogeneous employers' associations. Such associations composed the very large employers and the very small. Small masters joined, though not all did, because they were employers of labour and were able to identify as employers with large capitalist establishments. Employers' associations were in part a response to the growth of working-class organisation, and in part evidence of a willingness to promote common interests built around the needs of a particular trade or calling. In general these

associations tended to be dominated by the interests of the larger employers, and at times were at variance with the interests of the small master. It was not, for example, uncommon to find large employers working in tandem with unions to regulate trade structures, and in so doing acting against the interests of the small masters.[4]

Edinburgh was essentially a workshop dominated economy in terms of the production carried out. Small productive units did not imply the absence of class conflict between masters and men. Behagg has correctly demonstrated the limitations of the Webbs' view of a paternalist, craft orientated, strike free relationship between small masters and men in the trades of early nineteenth-century Birmingham. Fundamental change in the structure and organisation of work practices occurring in the trades made for class conflict between masters and men.[5] Moreover, the view of a supposed golden age of harmony between masters and men has also been questioned for the eighteenth-century, where new evidence points to the conflict between masters and men in the workshops.[6] In late eighteenth-century Edinburgh strikes in the shoemaking and tailoring trades occurred.[7] Nonetheless, the extent of influence of the workshop and the face to face control of small masters on the emerging labour movement, and working-class in general, remains an important question.

The surviving evidence of much of the class struggle between masters and men is largely dependent on the records of labour organisations, employers' associations, and information of activity gleamed from newspapers and trade journals. We know little of the day-to-day struggles in the workshops of Edinburgh, little of the personal face-to-face relationships between masters and men. And almost nothing of the sympathies of masters for the plight of journeymen from whose ranks many rose. What we do know suggests that many easily identified with the employers and were engaged in class struggle with journeymen. As employers themselves they found common cause.

Throughout the nineteenth-century in Edinburgh masters and men were engaged in a number of prolonged strikes and lock-outs over wages and conditions. The number of masters, when known, involved in disputes suggest that a fair proportion were small masters. Combination by masters was often to meet only the exigency of a particular threat from the workforce. Once concluded they might disband.

Antagonism was reflected in the organised working-class associations. In 1825 journeymen bookbinders attempted to combine over a reduction of wages. The masters, as a result, combined to lock the men out.[8] In 1836 it was reported that thirty journeymen masons formed an Edinburgh branch of the United Operative Masons of Scotland.[9] Journeymen bakers were organised in 1837 over the wages

issue. In a letter to the Scotsman, they asked the public to patronise some ninety-three establishments in the city employing four-fifths of the workforce who had agreed to pay an increase in wages. From 1833 there also existed in the city a branch of the Scottish National Union of Cabinet and Chair Makers.[10] Like most early attempts at unionisation these were short-lived affairs.

In the 1840s a number of strikes occurred amongst printers, bakers, shoemakers, tailors and building workers in the city. In February 1847 journeymen printers met to discuss possible action over the threat of dismissal of some of their number for being members of the newly formed Typographical Association. The masters threatened to replace the men with apprentice labour. However, not all masters were in agreement. Indeed the journeymen recorded a vote of thanks to those employers who had not agreed to, or had withdrawn from, the 'obnoxious resolutions of the Masters' Association.'[11] Strike action followed and was still in progress in April, with larger firms importing 'blackleg labour' from London.[12] The position of the petite bourgeoisie in these situations is difficult to assess. Seldom did they take the lead in initiating lock-outs or dictating wage and price agreements. Often they had genuine sympathy for the aims of the journeymen. They must have found it difficult to maintain business in lengthy disputes. Moreover, the ties of employer, despite the antagonism between the large and the small, was the

more decisive factor in forcing small masters to side with the large employers in printing.

Masters were divided in industrial disputes between policy decisions and probably between the competing interests of large and small employers. Though that remains difficult to assess. In June 1846 William F. Cuthbertson, Secretary of the Operative Bakers' Union of Edinburgh, led a campaign for a reduction of the working day. In reply to a letter appearing in the North British Advertiser attacking the grievances of the operative bakers, Cuthbertson replied in the following terms, applying in his own way a vindication of the labour theory of value:

> Suppose an employer has five men, these five men working fourteen or fifteen hours a day bake 25 bags of flour a week. Now to get the same work performed in twelve hours, suppose another man is employed, and to pay this extra workman an additional farthing is charged on the loaf - 25 bags at 82 loaves to the bag - a farthing per loaf amounts to £2 2s 8$\frac{1}{2}$d - the additional working man gets 16s or 18s per week - who gets the rest, the lions share?[13]

This was not the world of the factory talking but the workshop, or rather small bakehouse. The small master as employer was identified as the enemy of the journeymen. It was evidence of the extent to which class struggle could, and did, permeate workshop relations; but neither should we lose sight of the influence of the workshop and the small masters, and their combined influence on

the development of working-class consciousness, labourist or otherwise. The campaign for a twelve hour day and payment in cash rather than kind continued. In July 1846 it was reported that a majority of masters had agreed to meet the demands of the men. A substantial minority of around seventy masters refused however.[14] In disputes of this nature it was not uncommon to find larger employers agreeing to the demands of journeymen to regulate trade conditions and in the process to hit at their smaller competitors.

Journeymen shoemakers took strike action in April 1846 over a decision by the masters to reduce wage rates. Starting in January the action had been sporadic in nature but from April to June the men were out for some eleven weeks.[15] In 1850 journeymen tailors petitioned the Master Tailors' Association to reduce the working day and to insist that all work be carried out on the employers' premises.[16] Again this was bound to hit small masters hardest, reducing the possibilities of sweating and forcing them to maintain workshop premises.

In October 1847 a general strike of masons in the building trade occurred after the men refused an initial offer of 21s per week from the masters.[17] In June 1849 journeymen masons approached the masters to reduce the working week, asking for three hours off on a Saturday 'for their general improvement.' The men were unsuccessful in this

case.[18] Plasterers in the city in May 1852 struck over attempts by the masters to reduce wages from £1 2s 6d to £1. Not all masters agreed with the reduction and the public was asked by the journeymen to patronise only those firms opposed to the reduction.[19]

In the early 1860s in the building industry the major issue was the nine hour day. In Edinburgh in 1861 journeymen masons insisted on working a nine hour day instead of the usual ten. The journeymen, moreover, were prepared to accept only nine hours pay. The men took strike action after forty-two masters in the city refused their demands. The strike was supported by over 400 men, and before long twenty-four of the masters had signed a declaration agreeing to the conditions of the men.[20] The number of masters represented in the dispute suggests that a substantial proportion were small masters.

In 1866 a strike by tailors had the masters' attempting to import 'dungs' - blackleg labour - from Hamburg.[21] From 1805 in the trade a time-log and scale of prices had been agreed by masters and men. Bargaining revolved around this log. Strike action again took place in 1867.[22] In October 1868 the Reformer, reported on a current dispute where the Master Associations of Edinburgh and Glasgow and other provincial towns, had entered into agreement to close their workshops to men from Edinburgh and Glasgow until a dispute in both cities was settled.

Possibly as a result of these negotiations a Master Tailor's Association for Scotland was formed.[23]

More than any other issue it was wages that brought masters together. Equally it was an issue that might divide them particularly when it came to increases. Masters, however, organised not only to combat the demand for wage rises from the men, but to reduce wages. In 1857, for example, the Edinburgh and Leith Master Painters' Association were concerned to regulate wages amongst the membership. An agreement bound the members to pay 4½d per hour, with further agreed rates on overtime.[24] In 1879, the Edinburgh and Leith Master Builders' Association met to discuss the question of wages. It was resolved that those employers who could get men to work for 6d per hour should do so; and in cases where this proved difficult 7d could be paid.[25] Membership of the association was said to be around sixty, and again this would include a fair representation of small masters.[26] In the same year the Edinburgh and Leith Master Plumbers' Association unanimously resolved to reduce the wages of operatives by 1d per hour.[27] Similarly, in 1890, after consultation with the operatives, the Master Plumbers' Association agreed to implement a ½d an hour increase, new overtime rates and allowances for country work.[28] The structure of industrial relations was in building becoming more formalised with unions and the larger employers taking the lead in negotiating conditions within the industry. Increasingly

small masters had to fall in line with agreed pay scales and conditions of service.

In printing a regulated process of industrial bargaining seems to have been achieved from as early as 1866. The masters met that year to receive a report of the committee set up to introduce new scales of payment for case and press work, the report was accepted by the masters and served as the basis of negotiations with the journeymen in subsequent years.[29]

To some extent the more regulated industrial bargaining became the more the small masters lost out. The tendency in Master Associations was for the larger employers to take the lead in setting the conditions of negotiation with the journeymen. Regulation of wages, conditions of service and apprenticeship also hit at the ability of the small men to compete through sweating and use of apprentice labour.[30]

Just as small masters were engaged in conflict situations with journeymen so too were shopkeepers with their assistants. Here, however, the evidence as one would expect is more patchy, especially over wages. One recurrent issue throughout the nineteenth-century, however, was early closing. Neither did this solely originate from the demands of the assistants for many masters supported the idea of shorter hours.

As early as 1836 the Scotsman reported that a 'respectable meeting' had been held by a numerous body of shop assistants in the Calton Convening Rooms. The principle object of the meeting was to secure a reduction in the hours of opening from 9.00 p.m. to 8.00 p.m. The stance taken by the assistants seemed to carry weight for it was announced that the reduction would take effect from 1st September.[31] A year later it was reported that the Shop Assistants Early Closing Movement wished to draw to the attention of the public the resumption of the practice of early closing in the winter months. It was here argued for the purpose of allowing assistants time for mental improvement.[32]

Such associations also progressed on an individual trade basis. In 1842 shopmen in the bookselling and stationery shops in the city resolved to appoint a deputation to wait upon the masters requesting an earlier time of closing. Similarly, shopmen in the employment of clothiers, silk mercers, drapers, haberdashers and hosiers organised a meeting to bring about a reduction in the working day.[33] Again in 1844 clerks, shopmen and apprentices in the employment of grocers, tea, wine and spirit, merchants presented a memorial to their employers outlining their grievances and calling for a shorter working day.[34] In such campaigns assistants received public support with meetings held to discuss the issue. In 1844, for example, James Simpson, advocate, and Robert Chambers, publisher, both active campaigners for education spoke to a large

meeting called in support of the movement for a reduced working day to allow time for self improvement.[35]

Little long term change accompanied these efforts, but the struggle continued. In 1846 a meeting of assistants in the grocery trade adopted resolutions expressing the 'evils' which resulted from the protracted hours of business.[36] Similar attempts took place in the bookselling trade in 1850 and among drapers in 1853.[37] There is little evidence that assistants backed up their case with threats of industrial action, preferring to achieve their aims through the co-operation of the employers.

Co-operation between men and masters was most evident in the eventual founding of the Scottish Shopkeepers and Assistants Union in 1890, claiming to represent the interests of both masters and men and united on the principle of early closing. In 1869 the Grocer had stated that 'our association has been looked upon by some with a certain amount of suspicion and distrust as if they feared it was destined to become like some of these gigantic trade unions which have wrought so much mischief of late. But our leading principle is, that the interests of the assistants and their employers are the same.'[38] Kenneth M. Milligan, Secretary of the Scottish Shopkeepers' and Assistants' Union, with a reported membership of 3,100, argued similarly that 'the basis of the union is the employers and assistants mutual benefit.'[39]

But if the masters and men were united on the principle of early closing, the irreconcilable differences that existed between employers and employees were raised elsewhere. Frequent complaints of low pay and long hours were heard in the trade journals.[40] The question of declining job opportunities was another grievance of the assistants. Qualified assistants it was said were chasing fewer and fewer vacancies largely caused by employers taking on cheap apprentice labour.[41] In turn employers in the ironmongery trade complained of the declining standard of assistants, of their laziness and unwillingness to work.[42]

Declining job opportunities amongst qualified assistants also affected the possibility of social mobility, of one day owning their own shop. The use of unqualified youths and even child labour was seen as a significant factor in this process. A witness to the Royal Commission on Labour, 1892, spoke of 'elderly assistants having no chance of being employed after a certain age', their positions given over to youths who did not receive anything like the wages of a qualified assistant.[43]

An investigation in 1905 into child labour in Edinburgh found that of 1,406 employed out of school hours 35 per cent were engaged in carrying milk 'for which their starving bodies are mutely clamouring.' Newsagents in the city employed 169 children; grocers, 'the hardest

task masters' employed 143; barbers employed 22 'little slaves'. Some 307 children were 10 years of age and under. Many worked a 17 hour day on Saturday from 7.00 a.m. to 12 midnight, though 12 to 14 hours was more common.[44] Abstracted from the emotive language the important point was that child labour used at busy periods could reduce the need of the shopkeeper to employ a full-time assistant.

Low pay, long hours and curtailment of job opportunity, and with it the individuals life chances, were behind the move towards more formal unionisation. But here the close working relationship between masters and assistants at the face-to-face level, and the mutual co-operation in favour of early closing saw early attempts at union-isation composing both masters and assistants. In 1890 the Scotsman, reported on a meeting of the Scottish Shopkeepers'and Assistants' Union to introduce the union to the Edinburgh shopkeepers and their assistants. At the meeting resolutions were passed in support of legal legislation to close shops early.[45]

Associations, whether unions or not, were often quick to minimise the element of class struggle between assist-ants and their masters. Preferring instead to speak in terms of co-operation and conciliation. In 1900 a meeting of grocers assistants in Edinburgh and Leith was held in the Free Gardeners' Institute, Picardy Place, for the purpose of forming an association in furtherance of the

half-holiday movement. An attendance of 140 was presided over by a Mr. Harvey, Master Grocer. Harvey 'disclaimed the idea that this was any pitiful socialistic wail of oppression,' they did not in any way intend to interfere as regards the question of early closing, leaving them to settle that question among themselves, or letting Parliament deal with it. The meeting was concerned rather to secure a half-day off in the week all the year round by 'conciliatory means.' To achieve that end the meeting agreed to form the Edinburgh and Leith Grocers' Assistants' Association.[46]

By 1901 in Edinburgh the National Amalgamated Union of shop assistants had organised branches there. This marked a significant break in that this union was a union of assistants. In that year a large demonstration of assistants in the city took place in the Meadows. At this meeting resolutions were passed calling for a sixty hour week including meal times and a total abolition of Sunday trading.[47] However, the plactory nature of unionisation continued to be stressed. In 1907 a paper was read to the Chemists' Assistants' and apprentices' Association discussing proposals for the setting-up of a union amongst the assistants but only for defence and not for "socialistic stultification of enterprise."[48]

There was therefore a growth towards unionisation amongst the assistants, whatever form that the organisations might take. However, it was the considered opinions of the

Scottish Trader, which spoke for many masters, that trades unionism was not necessary in the retail trade. It argued that the improved conditions of shop life had been arrived at by mutual agreement between employer and employed without recourse to any "extreme measures". Moreover, it was stated that the relations between master and servant in all branches of shopkeeping are peculiarly inter-dependent, and to apply a general principle to a particular case would only result in disaster.[49] It was a view that could also command support in the ranks of the assistants themselves.

It was only occasionally that a strike of assistants was mentioned. When this did occur, however, masters both large and small would close ranks against the employees and even greater emphasis would be placed upon the need for co-operation between masters and men. In 1872 rumours of a strike in the drapery trade nationally by assistants anxious to reduce the working day was 'an endeavour to cripple and impede the legitimate operations of the trader, by depriving him skilled assistance.'[50] The way forward, it was later argued, was not by strikes but by employers and employed working together to ensure 'the commercial prosperity one result of which must be an improvement in the position of all concerned, in whatever capacity, in the trade.'[51] A similar view was aired when a threatened strike by grocers' associations was mentioned in 1873.[52]

Although there had been room for co-operation between masters and men over trade issues such as early closing, they were nevertheless divided by the barrier of employer and employee. As demonstrated the position of the shop-keeper was one in which he was exploited by manufacturers, and was dependent on suppliers; often trading off their capital. However, as an employer of labour, in some cases, this role led him to associate his outlook with the interests of capital. His position as employer continued to contribute to an air of independence, and to mask his own exploited relationship.

The foregoing evidence suggests that both within the productive and distributive trades there was struggle between masters and journeymen, shopkeepers and assistants, over wages, hours and conditions of service. However, the evidence for Edinburgh is too patchy and thin on the ground to generalise over the role of the petite bourgeoisie in class struggle with members of the working-class. Further research is needed in this area if we are to more fully understand the process of class formation and struggle in the nineteenth-century.[53] We need to move into a greater understanding of the workshop economy of workshop practices and to examine the contribution of the masters at the point of production. Equally we need to explore the question of the closeness of masters and men within the context of a culture of 'craft' and the extent to which this influences conflict.

Both Hobsbawn and Crossick have stressed the point that small masters continued to retain their links with the journeymen by holding union membership.[54] Some unions, however, expressly prohibited masters from holding membership. The strength of craft identity and the close affinity between masters and men was affirmed in the Articles of Agreement of the Society of Bookbinders in Edinburgh. Formulated in 1775 they stated that 'all bookbinders, whether masters or journeymen with any number of printers who may choose to join us, and two or three of any other lawful trade.'[55] In 1814 the Company and Society of Bookbinders in Edinburgh again made provision for bookbinders and booksellers, whether masters or men to join.[56] Such organisation did not prevent growing tension in the workshops as a result of new work practices and organisation. Such developments were mirrored in the establishment of the Edinburgh Union Society of Journeymen Bookbinders. This organisation reflected the growing polarisation of masters and men. Article 12 stated in 1822 'that when any member commences business, he must immediately leave the society; and if any employer, who has taken leave of the society, shall again become a journeyman, he shall be admitted free of expense, provided he attends the society within one fortnight after he begins to work as a journeymen.'[57] In part this was a recognition of the precariousness of small master business, but nonetheless the regulations did extend to exclusion.

The Edinburgh and Leith Cab Drivers' Association was another organisation which made special provision for the petit bourgeois cab proprietor. Ostensibly a working-class organisation it nonetheless allowed under rule 25 for 'in the event of any free member being a proprietor of not more than two cabs, he shall, if he continue to pay his contributions, be entitled to all benefits under these rules . . . . But should he become the proprietor of more than two cabs, he shall not vote or receive trade benefit.'[58] The existence of such procedures obviously point to the closeness of social position between small master and worker. Small masters were employers, but they were also workers and no doubt the ambiguity of this position led to a sympathetic outlook from journeymen and assistants. To what extent this affected conflictual relationships between small masters and men in workshops and shops is difficult to measure. Face-to-face control and smallness of unit was certainly a barrier to working-class organisation. But from the evidence of Edinburgh it did not prevent conflict arising over wages, hours, conditions and job security. And here small masters formed part of the employing class and were seen to be so.

The contradictory position of small masters as both employers of labour and occupying a position subservient to large capital made it difficult for the class to formulate any clear class position for themselves. This was

particularly true in the context of relationships with the Bourgeoisie. In chapters three, four and five, this area was dealt with in some detail and there is no need to repeat the findings here.

Though the power of British capital in the nineteenth-century was such that the petite bourgeoisie 'was deprived of the chance to play its heroic part in history,' this did not exclude them playing a role if not the starring one they appeared to enjoy on the continent.[59] In national politics the petite bourgeoisie were always a latent and potential force, particularly in the pre-1850 period.[60] In Edinburgh a section of the petite bourgeoisie were active in political radicalism, as members of the Edinburgh Political Union, the Edinburgh Reform Association, Chartism and the Complete Suffrage Association. They were also active in the Anti-Corn Law League, Liberalism and Whiggism. They were the spearhead of and the target for a number of political groups. Ultimately in Edinburgh the small masters fell under the hegemony of the Liberal Party.[61] At the local level of government the petite bourgeoisie were well represented on Town Councils and other administrative bodies. This allowed the small masters to exercise considerable power in the local community, particularly in relation to the power this gave them over the working-class. In Edinburgh the petite bourgeoisie were actively involved in seeking to shape the direction of local politics in the interests of small property.

We know less of the involvement of the petite bourgeoisie in the community. In particular the exercise of control over working-class communities. Certainly as small shop-keepers, their influence as the dispensers of credit was vitally important, and was a sourse of conflict between them and the working-class community. As landlords with working-class tenants evidence again suggests that this was a potential area of conflict.[62] In some voluntary associations notably churches they formed a social leader-ship where the membership was predominantly working-class. It is in the nature of the historical evidence that the recreation of this community involvement, and the extent to which this affected social and group formation, remains a problem for the historian. Few petit bourgeois left autobiographical material to build a picture of the social activity on an individual level. Hopefully, new research will uncover such material as to throw light on these and other developments. It leaves us knowing what the petit bourgeois did, but not always knowing why or what the effects were.

Therefore as employers, local politicians, credit dis-pensing shopkeepers and landlords the contribution of the petite bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Edinburgh to the process of class and social formation was important. To have missed their importance is to have obscured a more complex reality of the development and interaction of class and social forces. The petite bourgeoisie formulated few

rules in the game of struggle, they lacked a consistent ideology and were unable to halt the dynamic of capitalist development, but as dominant players in the game they were able to interpret the rules to fit their interests. In other respects they merely officiated, holding positions of power and mediating in favour of dominant interests. In reality their position was but a step removed from the proletarian. Yet they held positions of power and authority sufficient to mask and disguise this fact. A marginal class true, but one whose importance was manifestly greater than realised.

It is customary to end research with a plea to other scholars to engage in the process of extending the boundaries of historical knowledge further. The same plea is made here. This thesis has been a contribution to the historiography of a class that has received scant attention from British Historians. As this chapter has shown important questions remain which can only be answered as a result of further inquiry.

APPENDIX I: OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS

The data presented in this thesis include analysis of the social composition of voluntary and political organisation, voting patterns, social mobility and patterns of inter-marriage.

Information as to occupation came either from the source itself, from census enumerators' books, or from Post Office Directories. The latter was the most frequently used method involving the laborious task of checking lists of individuals names and addresses to determine occupation.

The categories used involve the following:

(A) ESTABLISHED MIDDLE-CLASS

1. Professions, Gentlemen, etc.

   Included here and representative of the established middle-class are: advocates; solicitors; professors; doctors; dentists; ministers of religion; bankers; fund-holders; stockbrokers; shipowners; landed proprietors; lords; baronets; gentlemen; army and naval officers; higher administration.

2. Manufacturers

   Those described as such, brewers, large-scale printers and other large employers of labour.

3. Merchants

   Including those so described; wholesalers and contractors; generally those supplying capital goods and raw materials.

(B) WHITE-COLLAR

1. White-Collar I

   Includes clerical and commercial clerks; book-keepers; cashiers; commercial travellers; journalists; artists; musicians; curators; teachers.

2. White-Collar II

Includes supervisory and technical grades; minor officials; managers; inspectors; superintendants; station masters; accountants; architects; surveyors; engineers; veterinary surgeons.

(C) PETITE BOURGEOISIE

1. Merchant Retailers

Includes all commodity merchants e.g. wine merchants; tea merchants; agents.

2. Retailers

All those involved in retailing not designated as employees and not involved in production of commodities, thus grocer but not baker.

3. Craftsmen Retailers

Includes all those occupations where an element of production as well as retailing may have been carried out, and where an apprenticeship system was common: shoemakers; tailors; bakers; jewellers; gunmakers; saddlers; cabinetmakers; upholsterers; brushmakers; musical instrument makers; etc.

4. Craftsmen

Those in business where occupations had a recognised apprenticeship system: masons; painters; glaziers; plumbers; coopers; bell-hangers; engravers; bookbinders; blacksmiths; printer; etc.

5. Semi-Skilled

Those in business where occupations did not in the main follow an apprenticeship system: chimney sweeps; nail makers; fancy box makers; fishing rod makers; comb makers; flower makers; venetian blind makers; etc.

6. Transport

Includes: carters; coach hirers; cab proprietors.

7. Agriculture

Includes: farmers; cattle, pig, horse and poultry dealers.

(D) WORKING-CLASS

1. Retail Assistants

Includes all in retail occupations described as employees: shop assistants; apprentices: But message boys and porters are classified as unskilled.

2. Craftsmen

Follows those trades in section C.4 and relates to the existence of apprenticeship, includes: journeymen and apprentices.

3. Craftsmen Retail

Follows those trades in section C.3 and relates to the existence of apprenticeship, includes: journeymen and apprentices.

4. Semi-Skilled

Includes those occupations involving skills but not subject to apprenticeship; factory hands; nail makers; fancy box makers; etc.

5. Transport

Includes: driver; cab driver; conductor.

6. Unskilled

Includes: labourers; porters; message boys; etc.

7. Agriculture

Includes: farm grieves; shepherds; ploughmen; farm servants; foresters; fishermen; agricultural labourers.

8. Domestic Servants

Includes: all forms of domestic service; catering employees.

9. Police, etc.

Includes: policemen; prison officers; army and naval ratings; merchant seamen.

10. Miscellaneous

Includes: keepers; scavengers; hawkers; chain holders; etc.

APPENDIX II: MARRIAGE DATA SAMPLE

This appendix describes the use made here of the registrar general's marriage certificates for the periods 1855-56, 1870-71 and 1890-91. The evidence from the samples has been used in two ways. Firstly, to test historically the degree of inter-generational occupational change by comparing the occupations of fathers and those of their sons at the time of marriage. Tables 8.4, 8.5 and 8.6 take father's occupation and compare this with the son's. Tables 8.7, 8.8 and 8.9 take the son's occupation at time of marriage and compare this with their father's.

Secondly, to test historically the degree to which people of different occupational backgrounds married each other as an indicator of how far a population was socially cohesive or subdivided. This is done by comparing the occupation of the petit bourgeois grooms with those of their father-in-laws, tables 8.10, 8.11 and 8.12. Father-in-laws who were petit bourgeois are contrasted with the occupations of the grooms in tables 8.13, 8.14 and 8.15.

The information used comes from the registrar general's marriage certificates held in Register House, Edinburgh. The method of sampling differs from other surveys of this type in that a marriage was only included in the sample if either the groom, his father or the bride's father was petit bourgeois. In this way the sample was intended to concentrate the marriage activity of the petite bourgeoisie. By this method 451 marriages were included in the 1855 sample, 846 in the 1870 and 976 in the 1890. In tables 8.10 to 8.15 which concentrated solely on grooms or father's of the bride who were petit bourgeois the sample sizes were reduced.

In understanding the category of classifications readers are again drawn to appendix I.

TABLE 1

COMPOSITION OF THE TOWN COUNCIL 1833-95

	YEAR	PROFESSIONS	MANUFACTURERS	MERCHANTS	WHITE COLLAR (1)	WHITE COLLAR (2)	MERCHANT RETAILER	RETAILERS	PRODUCER RETAILER	CRAFTSMEN	SEMI-SKILLED	UNKNOWN
A)	1833	24.2	-	18.2	6.1	-	3.0	12.1	15.2	15.2	3.0	3.0
	34	18.2	3.0	15.2	6.1	-	6.1	21.2	12.1	15.2	-	3.0
	35	18.2	3.0	15.2	6.1	-	6.1	18.2	18.2	15.2	-	-
	36	33.3	6.1	9.1	-	3.0	6.1	15.2	12.1	12.1	-	3.0
	37	33.3	-	12.1	-	6.1	6.1	15.2	15.2	12.1	-	-
	38	30.3	-	6.1	3.0	9.1	3.0	21.2	12.1	12.1	3.0	-
	39	30.3	-	6.1	9.1	9.1	3.0	18.2	9.1	15.2	-	-
	1840	33.3	-	3.0	3.0	3.0	6.1	18.2	12.1	15.2	-	3.0
	41	36.4	-	6.1	-	3.0	6.1	15.2	15.2	9.1	-	9.1
	42	45.5	-	3.0	3.0	-	3.0	9.1	21.2	9.1	-	6.1
	43	42.4	3.0	-	-	-	6.1	6.1	27.3	15.2	-	-
	44	33.3	-	3.0	3.0	-	3.0	9.1	21.2	27.3	-	-
	45	27.2	-	6.1	6.1	3.0	3.0	12.1	21.2	15.2	-	3.0
	46	27.2	-	6.1	6.1	6.1	3.0	21.2	15.2	9.1	-	6.1
	47	24.2	-	6.1	6.1	6.1	6.1	18.2	9.1	9.1	-	15.2
	48	18.2	3.0	3.0	6.1	3.0	6.1	18.2	18.2	6.1	-	18.2
	49	21.2	3.0	6.1	3.0	-	6.1	12.1	30.3	9.1	-	9.1
	1850	18.2	3.0	12.1	3.0	-	3.0	15.2	27.3	9.1	-	9.1
	51	21.2	3.0	9.1	3.0	-	3.0	15.2	27.3	15.2	-	3.0
	52	24.2	3.0	15.2	9.1	-	3.0	9.1	27.3	6.1	-	3.0
	53	33.3	-	24.2	6.1	-	-	6.1	24.2	6.1	-	-
	54	33.3	-	24.2	3.0	3.0	-	12.1	15.2	9.1	-	-
	55	33.3	-	21.2	3.0	3.0	3.0	12.1	9.1	12.1	3.0	-
B)	56	41.0	-	17.9	2.6	-	2.6	15.4	-	12.8	2.6	5.1
	57	46.2	-	10.3	-	-	5.1	17.9	5.1	12.8	2.6	-
	58	46.2	-	7.7	-	-	2.6	12.8	7.7	15.4	2.6	5.1
	59	46.2	-	10.3	-	-	5.1	15.4	7.7	15.4	-	-
	1860	53.8	-	12.8	-	-	2.6	12.8	10.3	7.7	-	-
	61	48.7	2.6	12.8	2.6	-	5.1	12.8	12.8	2.6	-	-
	62	43.6	2.6	12.8	2.6	-	5.1	15.4	12.8	5.1	-	-
	63	38.5	2.6	15.4	5.1	-	2.6	12.8	17.9	5.1	-	-
	64	38.5	2.6	7.7	7.7	-	7.7	12.8	15.4	7.7	-	-
	65	41.0	5.1	7.7	7.7	-	10.3	5.1	12.8	10.3	-	-
	66	38.5	2.6	5.1	7.7	-	10.3	7.7	12.8	15.4	-	-
	67	35.9	7.7	7.7	5.1	-	10.3	7.7	12.8	12.8	-	-
	68	28.2	7.7	5.1	7.7	-	12.8	15.4	12.8	10.3	-	-
	69	23.1	10.3	7.7	7.7	-	15.4	12.8	12.8	7.7	-	-
	1870	17.9	10.3	7.7	10.3	-	17.9	12.8	17.9	5.1	-	-
	71	25.6	10.3	5.1	10.3	-	12.8	10.3	17.9	7.7	-	-
	72	20.5	10.3	5.1	10.3	-	12.8	12.8	15.4	12.8	-	-

1873	20.5	10.3	5.1	10.3	-	15.4	10.3	15.4	12.8	-	-
74	23.1	12.8	5.1	7.7	-	12.8	10.3	15.4	12.8	-	-
75	23.1	15.4	5.1	5.1	-	7.7	15.4	12.8	15.4	-	-
76	20.5	12.8	5.1	5.1	-	5.1	15.4	17.9	12.8	-	5.1
77	28.2	10.3	5.2	5.1	-	5.1	17.9	12.8	15.4	-	-
78	28.2	10.3	5.1	5.1	-	7.7	17.9	7.7	17.9	-	-
79	23.1	10.3	5.1	5.1	-	7.7	17.9	10.3	20.5	-	-
1880	23.1	10.3	2.6	5.1	-	10.3	15.4	10.3	23.1	-	-
81	23.1	7.7	2.6	5.1	-	5.1	20.5	10.3	23.1	-	2.6
82	20.5	7.7	-	5.1	-	5.1	17.9	17.9	25.6	-	-
83	20.5	7.7	-	7.7	-	5.1	20.5	17.9	20.5	-	-
84	17.9	7.7	-	7.7	-	7.7	20.5	17.9	20.5	-	-
85	17.9	10.3	2.6	5.1	-	5.1	23.1	15.4	20.5	-	-
86	20.5	10.3	2.6	2.6	-	7.7	23.1	17.9	10.3	-	2.6
87	20.5	7.7	2.6	2.6	-	7.7	20.5	20.5	17.9	-	-
88	17.9	5.1	2.6	2.6	-	5.1	23.1	12.8	20.5	-	10.3
89	23.1	5.1	2.6	5.1	-	10.3	25.7	17.9	10.3	-	2.6
1890	15.4	5.1	2.6	7.7	-	10.3	30.8	15.4	7.7	-	5.1
91	15.4	5.1	5.1	7.7	-	7.7	20.5	15.4	5.1	-	15.4
92	17.9	2.6	5.1	10.3	-	10.3	20.5	15.4	5.1	-	15.4
93	12.8	2.6	5.1	7.7	-	10.3	20.5	15.4	10.3	-	12.8
94	15.4	2.6	5.1	7.7	-	10.3	20.5	15.4	10.3	-	12.8
95	17.9	5.1	2.6	7.7	-	10.3	15.4	15.4	10.3	-	15.4

Note: A) from 1833 to 1855 the Council returned 33 elected members.

B) from 1836 to 1895 the Council returned 39 elected members.

TABLE 2

Composition of the Edinburgh Town Council 1833-95

	Professionals Manufacturers Merchants	Whitecollar (1) Whitecollar (2)	Petite Bourgeoisie	Unknown
1833	42.4	6.1	48.5	3.0
34	36.4	6.1	54.6	3.0
35	36.4	6.1	57.7	-
36	48.5	3.0	45.5	3.0
37	45.4	6.1	48.5	-
38	36.4	12.1	51.4	-
39	36.4	18.2	45.5	-
40	36.4	6.1	51.6	3.0
41	42.4	3.0	45.6	9.1
42	48.5	3.0	42.4	6.1
43	45.4	-	54.6	-
44	36.4	3.0	60.6	-
45	33.3	9.1	51.5	3.0
46	33.3	12.1	48.5	6.1
47	30.3	12.1	42.4	15.2
48	24.2	9.1	48.5	18.2
49	30.3	3.0	57.6	9.1
50	33.3	3.0	54.6	9.1
51	33.3	3.0	60.6	3.0
52	42.4	9.1	45.6	3.0
53	57.5	6.1	36.4	-
54	57.5	6.1	36.4	-
55	54.5	6.1	39.3	-
56	58.9	2.6	33.4	5.1
57	56.5	-	43.5	-
58	53.8	-	41.1	5.1
59	56.5	-	43.5	-
60	66.6	-	33.4	-
61	64.1	2.6	33.4	-
62	58.9	2.6	38.4	-
63	56.4	5.1	38.4	-
64	48.8	7.7	43.5	-
65	53.8	7.7	38.4	-
66	46.2	7.7	46.2	-
67	51.3	5.1	43.6	-
68	41.0	7.7	51.3	-
69	41.0	7.7	51.3	-
70	35.9	10.3	53.8	-
71	41.0	10.3	48.7	-
72	35.9	10.3	53.8	-
73	35.9	10.3	53.8	-
74	41.0	7.7	51.3	-
75	43.6	5.1	51.3	-
76	38.5	5.1	51.3	5.1
77	43.6	5.1	51.3	-
78	43.6	5.1	51.3	-
79	38.5	5.1	56.4	-

1880	35.9	5.1	58.9	-
81	33.3	5.1	58.9	2.6
82	28.2	5.1	66.6	-
83	28.2	7.7	64.0	-
84	25.6	7.7	66.6	-
85	30.8	5.1	64.0	-
86	33.3	2.6	58.9	2.6
87	30.8	2.6	66.6	-
88	25.6	2.6	61.5	10.3
89	30.8	5.1	64.0	2.6
90	23.1	7.7	64.0	5.1
91	25.6	7.7	51.3	15.4
92	25.6	10.3	48.7	15.4
93	20.5	7.7	56.4	15.4
94	23.1	7.7	56.4	12.8
95	25.6	7.7	51.3	15.4

NOTES and REFERENCES

CHAPTER ONE:

1. Particularly the debate and literature on the labour aristocracy a summary of which is to be found in R.Q. Gray, The Aristocracy of Labour in Nineteenth Century Britain, 1850 - 1900; also D. Lockwood, The Blackcoated Worker; G. Anderson, Victorian Clerks; and more recently J. Melling, 'Non-Commissioned Officers: British Employers and their Supervisory Workers, 1880 - 1920', Social History, 5, 1980.
2. Pride of place must go to F. Bechhofer and B. Elliott, 'Persistence and Change: The Petite Bourgeiosie in Industrial Society', Archives Europeenes, de Sociologie, 27, 1976; and G. Crossick, 'La Petite Bourgeiosie Britaniue Au XIX^{e} Siecle', Le mouvement Social, 108, 1979 (an English translation of this article appears as 'The Petite Bourgeoisie in Nineteenth Century: the Urban and Liberal Case', in G. Crossick and H. Haupt,, eds., Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth Century Europe, all later references are to this reprint)
3. The thesis draws lightly on the European material and offers no direct comparative analysis. But on Europe Crossick is invaluable, in particular G. Crossick, 'The Petite Bourgeiosie in Nineteenth-Century Europe; Problems and Research', in K. Tenfelde, ed., Internationale Forschungen zur Geschite des Arbiterschaft und Arbeiterbewegung.
4. R.S. Neale, Class in English History, 1680 - 1850, ch. 1; R.Q. Gray, 'Religion Culture and Social Class in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Edinburgh', in G. Crossick, ed., The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 134-35.
5. A.J. Mayer, 'The Lower Middle-Class as Historical Problem', Journal of Modern History, 47, 1975.
6. Ibid., 424.
7. For example the collected essays in Crossick, Lower Middle Class
8. On the class position of the white collar workforce Lockwood, 13-16; G. Anderson, 3-4; K. Marx,Capital, vol. III, 292-301; H. Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, ch. 15.
9. Both Lockwood, 137-98; and G. Anderson, ch. 4, have shown the white collar workforce's concern over the growth of bureaucracy and working conditions.
10. R. Gellately, The Politics of Economic Despair: Shopkeepers and German Politics, 1890 - 1914, 4.
11. N. Poulantzas, Classes in Contemporary Capitalism, 193-336.
12. Ibid., 287-99.
13. In particular, E.O. Wright, Class Crises and the State, 40-44; A. Hunt, 'Theory and Politics in the Identification of the Working Class', in A. Hunt, ed., Class and Class Structure; J. Caplan, 'Theories of Fascism: Nicos Poulantzas as Historian', History Workshop Journal, 3, 1977.
14. J. Kocka, White Collar Workers in America, 1890 - 1940, ch. 1.
15. Hunt, 'Theories...', in A. Hunt, ed., Class and Class Structure, Passim.
16. Bechhofer and Elliott, Archivees Europeenes de Sociologie, 27, 1976, 78.
17. Ibid., 76.
18. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, 301.
19. R.Q. Gray, in G. Crossick, ed., The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 134-35.
20. G.A. Cohen, Karl Marx's Theory of History; a Defence, 86.

21. Wright, 80, 87.
22. For a similar view, C. Gerry and B. Birckbeck, 'The Petty Commodity Producer in Third-World Cities; Petit-Bourgeios of "Disguised" Proletarian?', in F. Bechhofer and B. Elliott, eds., The Petite Bourgeiosie, Comparative Studies of the Uneasy Stratum, 122-23.
23. Some commentators have put this figure at ten employees others as much as twenty. As a guide the upper figure sets the maximum.
24. See below, ch. 3.
25. Wright, 80; if the business books had survived for a number of petit bourgeios and small capitalist firms, it might have been possible to measure the rate of surplus value across firms and conclusions reached. In the absence of such information the ten to twenty upper limit must continue to serve as a guide.
26. See below, ch's., 3.,4. and 5.
27. The term is used here to denote the class.
28. For example J. Foster, Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution, 166-77.
29. Neale, Class in English History, 18-19.
30. The Comparison is made between two years only, in this respect any activity from 1851 to 1854 or 1891 to 1894 is missed. It may be that the figures are an underestimate of the actual rates of turnover over five years.
31 This compares with the average of one in two for firms engaged in the woolen and worsted trade in the 1870-75 period, see E.M. Sigsworth and J.M. Blackman, 'The Woollen and Worsted Industries', in D.H. Aldcroft, ed., The Development of British Industry and Foreign Competition, 1875 - 1914, table 2, 130. Some qualification of these figures is required, though not as in such away as to affect the general conclusion. Death would probably deflate the total sample of all firms by around 15 per. cent., though the general conclusion of a 1:3 disappearance rate would still hold. Amalgamation was not an important factor and care was taken to account for the passing on of a family business.
32. D. Blackbourn, 'Between Resignation and Volatility: the German Petite Bourgeiosie in the Nineteenth Century', in Crossick and Haupt, 37-43.
33. M. Cornforth, Communism and Philosophy, 219-20.
34. For an appreciation Bechhofer and Elliott, Archivees Europeenes de Sociologie, 27, 1976.
35. K. Marx and F. Engels, 'The Communist Manifesto', in Selected Works in One Volume, 42, 44.
36. Ibid., 44.
37. On these points, G.D.H. Cole, What Karl Marx Really Meant, 106; G. Rude, Ideology and Popular Protest, 8.
38. P. Anderson, Arguments Within English Marxism, 45.
39. G. Stedman Jones, 'Working Class Culture and Working Class Politics in London, 1870 - 1900; Notes on the Re-making of a Working Class', Journal of Social History, 7, 1974, 498-500.
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41. T.J. Nossiter, 'Shopkeeper Radicalism in the Nineteenth Century', in T.J. Nossiter, A.H. Hansen and S.Rokkan, eds., Imagination and Precision in the Social Sciences; E.P. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth Century Urban Local Government, book 1, ch. 1, book 2, ch. 2; M.J. Daunton, Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870 - 1914, ch.9; D. Fraser, The Structure of Politics in Victorian Cities, Passim.

CHAPTER TWO:

1. On the importance of Edinburgh as the national centre, F.H. Groome, ed., Ordnance Gazeteer of Scotland, vol. 1, 534-36; R.Q. Gray, The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh, ch.2; A. Eddington, Edinburgh and the Lothians: at the Opening of the Twentieth Century, 83.
2. D. Robertson, The Princes Street Proprietor; and Other Chapters in the History of the Royal Burgh of Edinburgh, 180-81.
3. D. Bremner, The Industries of Scotland; their Rise, Progress and Present Condition, 109.
4. Quoted in Robertson, 65.
5. For comparison with Glasgow, I. MacDougall, ed., The Minutes of the Edinburgh Trades Council, 1859 - 1873, introduction.
6. R.Q. Gray, Labour Aristocracy Edinburgh, 9-10.
7. Quoted in D.G. Moir, 'Extracts from an Edinburgh Journal, 1823 - 1833', Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, 29, 1956.
8. For a more detailed review of urban development, G. Gordon 'The Status Areas of Edinburgh', Ph. D., thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1971.
9. R.Q. Gray, Labour Aristocracy Edinburgh, 16-17.
10. The classification scheme used in tables 2.1 and 2.2 is the Booth/ Armstrong, details of which are found in W.A. Armstrong, 'The Use of Information about Occupation', in E.A. Wrigley, ed., Nineteenth Century Society.
11. Groome, 534.
12. MacDougall, Minutes, XVII.
13. For a closer breakdown of individual sectors of the occupational structure, R.Q. Gray, Labour Aristocracy Edinburgh, table 2.4 and summary, 22-24.
14. Though in 1901 it again attempted to do so, with far from satisfactory results.
15. J. Heighton, The Castes of Edinburgh, 6.
16. On the existence of the 'shopocracy', R. Cutlar, ed., Edinburgh Dissected, 342; J. Glass, Chats Over a Pipe, 58.
17. A parallel in this respect can be drawn with London, I. Protheroe, Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth Century London, ch.1.; G. Stedman Jones, Outcast London, ch.1.
18. Ibid., ch.2.
19. Ibid.
20. A. Gilies, Across Western Waves and Home in a Royal Capital, 190-91; Scotsman, January 20, 1833.
21. Gilies, 223; J.W. Gulland, How Edinburgh is Governed, 70; Gordon, 102-03.
22. Report to the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh, Relative to the Eligibility of that City for Manufacturing Establishments, 1835.
23. 'Ayrshire Work' was a form of needle work, Ibid.
24. The Committee went as far as to prepare some costings for the project:

Cotton mill employing 500 people	£30,000
Flax mill employing 900 people	£36,000
Flax mill employing 250 people	£25,000
Flax mill employing 240 people	£10,000

Ibid., 16-17.

25. See below ch.7.
26. Report to the Lord Provost...Manufacturing Establishments, 16.

27. Scotsman, November 3, 1841; on the firms closure Groome, 536.
28. Children's Employment Commission; Appendix to the Second Report of the Commissioners: Trades and Manufacturers, PP., 1843, XV.
29. Groome, 536.
30. Ibid., 536; J. Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh, vol. II, 220.
31. Bremner, Passim.
32. Ibid., 437-38; Eddinton, 19, 74; J. Leishman, 'Edinburgh Industries', The Blue Blanket, 3, 41.
33. Groome, 538; R.Q. Gray, Labour Aristocracy Edinburgh, 24-25; MacDougall, Minutes, XVI; Anon. 'British Industries: the Printing and Publishing Industries of Edinburgh', A1 Annual, 1888, 783-800.
34. These are a much undervalued source by historians, but see, W.G. Rimmer, 'The Industrial Profile of Leeds', Thoresby Society Publications, Miscellany 14, 1967.
35. The Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directories are of particularly good quality in the information they provide.
36. Procedure is again the Booth/Armstrong see f.n. 10. Note that building here refers to Buiding II in the scheme.
37. Bremner, 123, 131.
38. The development of retailing is examined in ch.3.
39. R. Price, Masters and Men, 19-20; K. Burgess, The Origins of British Industrial Relations, 90; and see below ch. 5.
40. Tables 2.6 and 2.7 based on Booth/Armstrong scheme, see f.n. 10.
41. For a comparison, P. Mathias, The First Industrial Nation, 261 and table V; Stedman Jones, Outcast London, 374 and table 9.
42. The source of this information is contained in the Webb Collection, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Section A, vol. 25, item 3.
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44. Protheroe, ch.2; Stedman Jones, Outcast London, ch.2.
45. G.I.H. Lloyd, The Cutlery Trades: an Historical Essay into the Economics of Small Scale Production; A. Briggs, Victorian Cities, 144-48; C. Behagg, 'Custom Class and Change: the Trade Societies of Birmingham', Social History, 4, 1979, 457-58.
46. S. Pollard, A History of Labour in Sheffield, ch's 2, 5.
47. Crossick, 'The Petite Bourgeoisie...' in Crossick and Haupt, 62.

CHAPTER THREE:

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2. But Welcome additions are M.J. Winstanley, The Shopkeeper's World, 1830 - 1914; G. Crossick, 'Shopkeepers and the State in Britain, 1870 - 1914', in G. Crossick and H. Haupt, eds., Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth Century Europe.

3. For example the study of small shopkeepers in Edinburgh in the 1960s-70s, in F. Bechhofer, et. al., 'Small Shopkeepers; Matters of Money and Meaning', Sociological Review, 22, 1974.
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5. Bechhofer, et. al., 473.
6. These are dealt with below.
7. In Particular, K. Marx, Capital, vol.I, 714; for a more appreciative account in the historical setting, G. Stedman Jones, 'England's First Proletariat', New Left Review, 90, 1975, 49-51.
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9. T. Vigne and A. Howkins, 'The Small Shopkeeper in Industrial and Market Towns', in G. Crossick, ed., The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 184.
10. Crossick takes R.J. Morris to tas for a similar approach, Crossick, 'The Petite Bourgeiosie...', in Crossick and Haupt, 87.
11. Scotsman, June 29, 1836.
12. Cutlar, 40.
13 R.S. Neale, Bath, a Social History, 1680 - 1850, 297.
14. Winstanley, IX.
15. Crossick, 'The Petite Bourgeiosie...', in Crossick and Haupt, 63.
16 Historians have been charged with neglect, see Benwell Community Development Project, From Blacksmiths to White Elephants; Benwell's Changing Shops, 11.
17. 3, 1834, 142.
18. 70,1896, 1144.
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172. Church; Head.
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BM	British Museum Newspaper Library
EPL	Edinburgh Public Library
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
NLS	National Library of Scotland
SRO	Scottish Record Office
**	Held in the archives of the organisation concerned

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